DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Unintended Consequences?
The Governance of Modern Foreign Language Learning in Scotland (1962-2014)

Scott, James David

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I:

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADES	- Association of Directors of Education in Scotland
CCC	- Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (later SCCC)
CDO	- Curriculum development officer
CILT	- Centre for Information on Languages and Teaching
CoaMW	- Citizens of a Multilingual World
COSLA	- Convention of Scottish Local Authorities
CPD	- continuous professional development
EIS	- Educational Institute of Scotland
ELT	- Effective Learning and Teaching
ES	- Education Scotland (from HMIe and LTS)
EU	- European Union
FLIPS	- Foreign Languages in Primary Schools
FLUSS	- Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School
HAS	- Headteachers' Association of Scotland
HMI	- Her Majesty's Inspector (or Inspectorate), of education
HMIe	- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of education
HMSCI	- Her majesty's Senior Chief Inspector of education
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
IMR	- Individual Ministerial Responsibilty
LTS	- Learning and Teaching Scotland (from SCCC and SCET)
MAG	- Ministerial Action Group
MFL(s)	- modern foreign language(s)
MLPS	- Modern Languages in the Primary School
NDPB	- Non-Departmental Public Body
OECD	- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QAE	- quality assurance and evaluation
QIO	- Quality improvement officer
quango	- quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation
SALT	- Scottish Association of Language Teachers
SCCC	- Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum
SCEEB	- Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board
SCET	- Scottish Council for Educational Technology
SCILT	- Scottish Centre for Information on Languages and Teaching
SCOTVEC	- Scottish Vocational Education Council
SCRE	- Scottish Council for Research in Education
SEB	- Scottish Examination Board (formerly SCEEB)
SED	- Scottish Education Department
SEED	- Scottish Executive Education Department
SLS	- School Leaders Scotland (formerly HAS)
SOEID	- Scottish Office Education and Industry Department
SOID	- Scottish Office Industry Department
SQA	- Scottish Qualifications Authority (from SEB and SCOTVEC)
SSTA	- Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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number of friends and colleagues in Scottish education who, although not formal respondents, took an interest in my study, provided professional insight, offered advice or contacts at crucial stages and/or assisted with trialing interview and questionnaire formats and some of the other instruments employed. Since the questionnaires and interviews were conducted on the basis of anonymity to gain as wide and deep a set of insights as possible, I cannot name any of them, but they know who they are.

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Declaration

I declare that I am the sole author of the thesis; that the work of which the thesis is a record has been carried out by me, and that it has not been previously submitted or accepted for a higher degree. I also certify that I have received no assistance in the writing of this thesis other than the professional overview of my supervisors. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis and that I have consulted these sources first-hand unless otherwise indicated.

Signature of Candidate: _____

Total number of words, = 97,973.
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Abstract

In Scotland, modern foreign language (MFL) learning is declining. This thesis provides a new perspective on this issue by investigating the nature and effectiveness of MFL governance from national to school level. I examine politico-educational rationales for MFL, layers, structures and elements of meso- and macro-level governance, the balance between structure and agency, the impact of powerful individuals on a small system and the extent of cooperation and contention among governing individuals and groups. Using a mixed research approach, triangulating findings drawn from existing research, official documents and evaluation reports with statistical findings on MFL qualifications, teaching and attainment and with the outcomes of questionnaires and interviews involving key/elite governance actors, I analyse macro- and meso-level educational governance in Scotland and its effectiveness. I employ Governance Theory to test my findings on the nature and effectiveness of governance.

I find that MFL governance in Scotland operates within a complex, layered, asymmetric, politico-educational system with linkages of varying effectiveness. Governance has been well motivated but inconsistently successful, having suffered significant difficulties through a combination of inconsistent vision and planning, variable practice, lack of follow-through, political flux and the unforeseen interaction of initiatives. The vision(s) for MFLs experienced varying interpretation by ministers, civil servants, national agencies, local education authorities, headteachers and teachers, thus contributing to the limited success experienced in twenty-one attempts to improve MFL learning in fifty years. Success/failure of previous initiatives has not generally influenced subsequent iterations as governance actors have taken limited account of research, evaluation or previous outcomes. MFL governance has also failed to consistently engage key stakeholders, is intermittently subject to significant agency by elite actors and has suffered significant losses of leadership/support capacity as a result of local and national political change.

This study identifies trends, issues and factors of use to those engaged in language learning policy, development and implementation across the UK and in the wider Anglophone world.

Chapter 1 Introduction to the Thesis: Rationale, Significance, Focus and Structure

1.1 Rationale for the Research

The continuing inabilty of the Anglophone countries, despite repeated political and educational initiatives, to successfully motivate and/or support their citizens in learning modern foreign languages (MFLs) is well documented (e.g. Ager, 1996; Beedham, 2001; European Commission, 2006, 2012; Lo Bianco, 2001, 2010; Watts, 2003). Some researchers (e.g. Ager, 2001; Graham, 2004; McPake, 2003; Trafford, 1995) have pursued Maslow's (1954) footsteps, investigating motivational and attitudinal factors which encourage MFL learning and others (e.g. De Bot, 2007; Doughty, 2005; Johnstone 2002; Watts, 2003; Williams, Burden and Lanvers, 2002) have investigated factors militating for/against the teaching of MFLs. None, however, have attempted to consider the range of political, societal and educational factors impacting upon attempts to improve this situation, nor have any asked whether the nature and quality of politico-educational governance of these projects has helped, hindered or possibly caused aspects of these failures.

Both the UK as a whole and Scotland as a specific case subscribe to this Anglophone pattern and have experienced various challenges militating aginst MFL learning as well as political and educational imperatives leading to a

range of initiatives intended to improve aspects such as the enrolment or attainment of MFL learners. These imperatives and challenges are examined here to ascertain the key issues impacting on the development of MFL skills and knowledge among primary and secondary school learners in Scotland.

1.1.1 Influences on MFL Development and Governance in Scotand

Tables 2.3, 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate political, economic or educational influences which have sought to transform or improve the teaching and learning of MFLs. Although some of these have been MFL-specific initiatives, others have formed part of wider educational developments, UK/Scottish political policy initiatives and/or attempts to improve the economic position. There have also been challenges, external and internal, impeding attempts to govern and improve MFL learning and teaching. In order to understand and rationalise these diverse influences, they are grouped as Imperatives and Challenges in the following sub-sections.

Imperatives for the Teaching and Learning of MFLs

The imperatives driving MFL developments have generally been political, economic and educational. Although some of these overlap, they are as far as possible identified within these groupings.

i) Political

Five main phases of changing political priorities, as discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5, have impacted upon MFLs in Scotland. These are (i) the

period of post-war expansion and democratisation of education which promoted Comprehensivisation and The Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA) to 16 and but generated associated accommodation, staffing, resourcing, methodology and qualifications issues; (ii) the era of Neo-Liberal Conservative government and, eventually, of Michael Forsyth as Education Minister, with its commitment in Circulars 1178, 1187 (both SED, 1989) and 1/93 (SOED, 1993) to an unprecedented 'Modern Languages for All' programme in upper primary and lower/middle secondary schools; (iii) effectively, a second political consensus which saw the Major and Blair governments equally (but slightly differently) committed to central control, accountability of public services and a desire to transform regional government structures; (iv) an era of local and national political flux, changing curricular directions, the issue of curricular Circular 3/2001 (SEED, 2001b), the non-implementation of the national 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' (CoaMW) initiative (MAG, 2000) and the 2000 Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) crisis, with unintended but significant consequences for MFLs and finally (v) a period covering successive devolved administrations when, from 2003 to 2012, MFLs were left outside the main politico-educational debate until the recent SNP '1+2' initiative.

This national political impact on MFLs has not generally been matched by local authority political initiatives. Apart from isolated aspects of good practice (e.g. the long-term commitment to MFLs of a few councils), no significant local political initiatives in MFLs were found during research for this thesis. The

only local political actions identified were generally negative: the Strathclyde rejection of the MLPS pilot findings and, differentially across councils, a 3-stage decline in councils' support for, and development of, MFLs after 1996, after Circular 3/2001 and again since the financial pressures of 2008.

ii) Economic

> If I am selling to you, I speak your language. If I am buying, dann müssen Sie Deutsch sprechen.
>
> (attributed to Willy Brandt (ALS International, 2014))

Brandt left little doubt about the need for MFL skills among UK exporters, although some respondents to this study disagree that this has relevance for Scottish education. As Foreman-Peck (2007) indicates, however, MFL skills contribute to more than just the actual selling process: 'language skills facilitate the experience that identifies prospects in foreign markets and that often also allows them to be exploited' (p.2). Foreman-Peck also makes the point that non-English-speaking economies have a much greater incentive to invest in learning English to access larger, affluent English-speaking economies whereas English-speaking companies may fail to see immediate benefit from investment in the MFL skill development or the payment of wage premiums to acquire MFL-capable employees. "Talking World Class" (CILT, 2005) demonstrates incentives for UK companies – and thus for UK civic society as a whole – to develop MFL skills. Their basic statistics (*ibid*., p.4) indicate that, despite a common belief that English is *the* international *lingua*

franca, only 6% of the world population are native English speakers and only 25% speak English to any significant extent. CILT's UK statistics (ibid., pp.3-5) are worrying: 80% of UK export managers cannot conduct business in any foreign language, 72% of UK trade is with non-English speaking countries and we sell more than we buy where we speak the language but buy more than we sell where we don't. The implications of a lack of language skills for the UK balance of trade seem clear. Despite the rapid growth of the Chinese, Brazilian and Middle Eastern economies, the Scottish programme to develop Mandarin speakers is limited, Portuguese teaching was halted in 1993 and no Arabic is taught. Of the three major world languages – English, Spanish and Mandarin - only English is taught to a significant percentage of the Scottish school population.

The position is equally challenging in tertiary education, with Doughty's (2005) thesis charting the decline of MFL learning in Scottish colleges and the CILT (2005, p.4) document showing that, between 1998-99 and 2001-02, the number of UK first degree MFL students had declined from 32,140 to 27,375 with a growing gender gap providing a female:male ratio in these students of 70:30. Beedham's study of the language capability of 301 Scottish companies found that 64% lacked the MFL competences to meet their needs (2001, p.2). However, Beedham also found that 75% of companies did not favour candidates with MFL skills in their recruitment processes (*ibid.*, p.14). Only 9% of companies in her 1999 survey had a corporate language strategy (*ibid.*, p.12), implying a gap between companies' acceptance that they lack MFL

skills and their willingness/ability to improve the situation. Companies' dissatisfaction with school leavers' MFL skills have not been accompanied by coherent attempts across companies to support or promote MFL learning. Together, the statistics and the identified need for MFL skills form a powerful imperative for the promotion of MFL skills among school-based learners.

iii) Educational

It was not difficult to locate educational imperatives for students of all disciplines and abilities to learn MFLs. It was, however, more challenging to find instances where these have been clearly expressed to, or by, educational governance actors. Existing research (e.g. Low, Brown, Johnstone, & Pirrie, 1995; McPake, Johnstone, Low, & Lyall, 1999) has largely examined motivation, commitment (of pupils, parents and teachers), pedagogy and nature/content of qualifications as factors in the decline in MFL learning. Unusually, the Modern Languages Excellence Report took a holistic look at the benefits of learning MFLs, considering personal growth, learning and cognitive development, suggesting that the personal benefits include:

> the simple satisfaction of being able to understand and be understood in a foreign language, the new horizons this offers in terms of travelling, of making new acquaintanceships and of being able to understand other cultures first hand.
>
> (SCILT, 2011, pp.4-5).

It also quoted the benefits of MFLs for cognitive development from the European Commission report on Multilingualism:

> enhanced mental flexibility, enhanced problem-solving ability (including organisational skills), expanded metalinguistic ability (intercultural skills), enhanced learning capacity, enhanced interpersonal ability (team-working/communication and presentation skills/perception of the perspective of others), reduced age-related mental diminishment (dementia, Alzheimer's)
>
> (Marsh & Hill, 2009, pp.6-10).

Despite these apparently compelling reasons for the learning of MFLs, my research has identified no evidence of awareness or use of this message by governance actors except in a few HMIe presentations (e.g. Renton, 2009) and in the Modern Languages Excellence Report (2011). To ascertain whether these educational benefits have been conveyed to potential pupils and their parents, I sampled (during December 2013) 42 school handbooks (2 schools from each of 21 authorities: 11% of schools and 67% of Scottish authorities) and 14 sets of course choice documentation - a smaller number as these are less evident on school websites. I also examined the websites of the 21 authorities sampled. In the authorities and schools sampled (see Appendix 1) at that time, no school handbook conveyed any of these educational benefits to pupils or parents. Only one course choice document (or equivalent school website section) conveyed any form of positive MFL message to pupils and parents (and none attempted to explain any part of the benefits claimed by the Excellence Report). No Education section in the 16 authority websites explained the benefits of MFLs (or any other subjects except, occasionally, literacy, numeracy and health), although one council had a Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS) policy (at the fourth layer of the website). This was true even in the council with the largest number of

information sources – over 100 information leaflets and booklets - available to the public. Equally, interrogation of the Scottish Government website ended in either a download of the Excellence Report or of the 1+2 Report (with neither written to engage learners or parents). This suggests that information to support pupils, parents or guidance teachers in understanding the benefits of MFL learning or making a positive choice of MFLs is not easily available from, or coherently presented by, any of the three layers of governance responsible for improving the situation. This issue constitutes the first of a set of challenges to improving uptake, learning and attainment in MFLs in Scotland. The remainder are set out here.

Challenges

i) Anglophone societal Issues

Internationally, the Anglophone countries do not display strength in MFL learning. Findings supporting this view are presented in Sections 2.5 and 2.6. The commonest reasons given for this include international usage of English (SCILT, 2011) and English domination of the internet, but again statistics (SCILT, 2010a, p.7) show that the use of English on the internet fell from 51% in 2000 to 29% in 2009, largely due to increased Chinese and Spanish usage. The strength of English is historic, due to the British Empire, post-war American economic domination and the prevalence of US/UK entertainment media, thus heavily influencing UK/US societal attitudes to other languages and MFL learning. The UK climate is influenced by 'a frequently jingoistic press [which] dignifies xenophobia as Britishness or Euroscepticism'

(Coleman, Galaczi, & Astruc, 2007, p. 252) and by political attempts to gain advantage with the electorate, especially in England, by adopting an anti-European stance (*ibid.*, pp. 252-253) whereas US prejudices relate to Hispanic issues and to immigration from Central and South America.

Inevitably, the hegemony of English as the (or, more accurately, as *an* (SCILT, 2010a, p.7)) international *lingua franca* is seen to militate against the learning of MFLs by those whose mother tongue is English. Two major European surveys, carried out with almost 30,000 EU citizens during 2005 and 2012, as reported in *Eurobarometer 243* (European Commission, 2006) and *Eurobarometer 386* (EC, 2012), place the UK at the bottom of the European language capability table with even our fellow Anglophones, Ireland, recently rising above us. This represents a significant problem for the Scottish and UK governments in ensuring that their common intent (Scottish Government, 2012; DfES, 2007) to improve MFL teaching, learning and societal capability is implemented. Some Anglophone countries (e.g. Australia, Canada) with significant minority populations have had more positive MFL experiences. For twenty years from 1990, government-supported Australian policy (Lo Bianco, 1987) and progress seemed to demonstrate a way forward but recent analyses suggest that the Australian position is regressing (Ingram, 2000; Lo Bianco, 2003). Researchers (e.g. Coleman *et al.* 2007; Pachler, 2007) also allude to the UK's post-imperial hangover, to a 'social & political insularity' (Pachler, 2007, p.4), to the effects of views of parents and teachers (Coleman *et al.*, 2007, p.247) and to the impact of economic disadvantage (OECD,

2007). Coleman *et al.* (2007, p.251) also note the disparity in the UK between rigorous anti-racism measures and the apparent freedom to verbally attack Europe and Europeans at will.

These issues contribute to the weak UK/Scottish linguistic position, as evidenced by current EU statistics (see Tables 2.4 and 6.13): with economic, academic and leisure implications. Part of the evidence for this derives from the views of respondents to this study. Most respondents suggested all or most of the above as reasons why UK citizens are not motivated to learn MFLs. However, some (e.g. M0001 (local authority officer), M0016 (Directorate member), M0081 (trades union leader) [N.B. see Tables 3.5 and 3.6 for classification of main sample (M) respondents]) agreed with Chambers (1999, p.83) that we suffer from 'island issues' where Europe is seen as somehow remote and not directly connected to the everyday life of the UK. As Chambers suggested, 'in the context of an island nation, it is possible that pro-French/German/Spanish etc. attitudes may be outweighed by apathy, ignorance or in some areas negativity' (*ibid.*, p.83).

UK xenophobic tendencies described earlier are complemented by some Scottish tendencies, driven by a more local press and often after OECD, PISA or Inspectorate reports (e.g. HMIe, 1990, 1998; OECD, 2007: PISA, 2013), which might be summarised as: 'we may not be good MFL learners but we're not as bad as the English, Welsh or Irish and we're much better than the Americans'. While the position of the USA appears accurate (Rhodes &

Branaman, 1999), Scotland is only *slightly* better than the rest of the UK (Centre for Public Policy for Regions, 2009), and has fallen behind Eire in recent years (European Commisssion, 2006, 2012). Whatever the self-perception, this weakness in MFL interest and competence represents a challenge for Scottish education and a demonstrable impediment to the Scottish and UK economies.

ii) Attitude – 'A Climate of Negativity'

The attitude and motivation of pupils, parents, teachers and school/authority leaders emerge across research studies as key challenges to successful MFL learning and are thus considered in this and the subsequent sub-section. Gardner (1985, p.9) defined attitude as 'an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent'. This tendency to react to MFLs on the basis of belief or opinion was a consistent thread among respondents, for example:

> Attitude is very significant: negative attitudes are apparent in many pupils (more boys than girls?), many parents, too many HTs, too many directors and heads of education, in employers and there is a wider cultural issue as well. There's a touch of "I didn't need Languages, so you won't either", with many of these groups.
>
> (M0001)

In Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School (FLUSS), McPake *et al.* (1999, p.xii) identified a 'climate of negativity' leading teachers to view language learning as exceptionally difficult and students to become discouraged and lack confidence. Sampling 25% of Scottish secondary

schools, they found a lack of motivation among pupils, accompanied by unease about what they had achieved by the end of S4 and their capacity to progress to Higher. Factors contributing to this were identified as poor curricular design, timetabling, poor or inaccurate advice from Guidance teachers, content and structure of S3/4 courses, mixed ability teaching, MFL teaching methods in general and a failure to teach grammar effectively (plus pupils' reactions to the complexities of grammar). Perhaps reflecting the duality of Michael Forsyth's approach to 'parent power', they did not suggest that this was an example of pupils and parents exercising their rights as consumers in one of the limited number of educational markets in Scotland (see Section 2.2). In their analysis, they largely followed the academic tradition of Scottish education which has always seen the potential progression to Highers and universities as its principal driver, ignoring the reality that Higher is not a goal for the majority of pupils, but some capability in the language could and probably should be, given the imperatives noted earlier.

McPake *et al.* (1999) also noted the inappropriateness of Standard Grade MFL courses (in their original form), whose approach (according to 83% of Principal Teachers surveyed) deterred pupils from taking a Higher Language. Pupils, however, saw things very differently with only 20% of those not progressing to Higher saying this was because of Standard Grade. The attractiveness of other subjects or a view that MFLs were difficult/not useful for employment provided the bulk of pupils' rationale for not continuing. Parents

also supported Standard Grade with 87% indicating that their child benefitted from the course and 53% suggesting their child was at least quite fluent. Parents also believed their child's educational or career goals required them to take Highers in other subjects, or simply that their child preferred other subjects to languages. Only 9% said that their child had decided not to continue because s/he had not enjoyed the Standard Grade course (McPake *et al.*, 1999, p.36).

With hindsight, neither the subsequent amendments to the Standard Grade course nor its (partial) replacement by National Qualifications reversed the decline in the uptake of Higher Grade MFL courses. It may be assumed, therefore, that Standard Grade was not itself the issue, leaving several possible generators of the climate of negativity: the actions/perceptions of teachers, headteachers, parents or pupils, poor teaching or poor resourcing, all potentially leading to negative choices.

iii) Motivation (Extrinsic and Intrinsic) in MFL Learning and Teaching

There are two classifications of motivation – intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation derives from a wish to learn something because of its inherent interest, or for self-fulfilment, enjoyment or mastery of a subject. Extrinsic motivation derives from a wish to perform and succeed in order to accomplish some specific outcome or result. In simple terms, pupils driven by success in examinations are extrinsically motivated, whereas those with a genuine interest in the subject or topic are intrinsically motivated. Some respondents

had themselves claimed to have contributed to extrinsic motivation: for example, 'I promoted Languages strongly to all pupils in S3/4. As a result, over 80% took MLs' (M0049, headteacher) but only 2 school respondents gave instances of supporting intrinsic motivation. Individual students, however, may display either or both of these motivations during their involvement with MFLs.

Ager (2001), Graham (2004), McPake *et al.* (1999) and Chambers (1999) all examine motivation, examining a range of motivational factors including peer/parental pressure, prior achievement, imitation of inspiring teachers or peers, self-esteem and personality. However, in considering motivation, the most consistent and perspicacious commentators on the issues relating to MFLs have been the Inspectorate (HMI, 1990, 1998, 2005a, 2005b, 2007). Inevitably, the HMI MFL specialists have shown greatest insight into these issues. Of them, HMI Isobel McGregor played a significant role in the 1998 HMI Report on MFLs (HMI, 1998) and HMI Jane Renton appears most clearly in print, repeatedly raising the 'wicked issues' (Renton, 2009, p.21) of governance related to MFLs and highlighting questions about the extent to which the schools or departments motivate learners:

> Is a sense of enjoyment and excitement about language learning conveyed by walking along corridors or entering classrooms? …. Does the classroom environment support pupils' learning ...?
>
> (Renton, 2004, p.6).

or about the nature and quality of teaching and learning :

> Are pupils encouraged to work independently and to be independent thinkers? Are they provided with opportunities to take responsibility for their learning? ….. Are they helped to understand the structure of the language …?
>
> (*ibid*., p.7).

or about how enjoyment and stimulation can engender motivation:

> [Does] the reality of pupils' day-to-day experience live up to the rhetoric? How do programmes and learning and teaching approaches deliver these stated benefits?
>
> (*ibid*., p.7).

An examination of inspection reports where HMIe have evaluated MFLs suggests that this has not consistently happened. A majority of respondents to this study echoed Renton's concerns, e.g. 'the relevance of language skills is not properly understood' (M0044, headteacher); 'the established [MFL] department members took a reluctant part in thinking about improvements' (M0045, headteacher). They expressed gender and ability-related issues, for example: 'There seems to be an issue about boys, especially the less able' (M0001) and also issues about pupils' (particularly boys') reactions to an increasingly older and more female teaching body.

Thus, many respondents to this study are aware of attitudinal and motivational factors. Since almost all of them occupy, or have occupied, key or elite positions (see Chapter 5) in Scottish educational governance and have access to HMIe's published findings, it seems appropriate to assume that these factors could and should have been considered in the governance of initiatives taken to improve MFL learning and attainment.

1.1.2 Scottish Educational and Political Governance as Applied to MFLs

This thesis departs from the pathway trodden by McPake *et al.* and other researchers who have considered the negative impacts of attitude, motivation and climate on MFL uptake and achievement. This study considers both positively intended politico-educational initiatives and imperatives and also the negative societal, attitudinal and motivational. In so doing, it considers why (i) given that all the imperatives, almost all of the 'climate of negativity' issues and many of the other challenges have been within the ambit of political and/or educational governance agents, (ii) these were potentially improvable by appropriate governance actions and (iii) these have been the subject of repeated campaigns or individual initiatives to improve matters, there has been an almost continuous fall in MFL uptake and attainment.

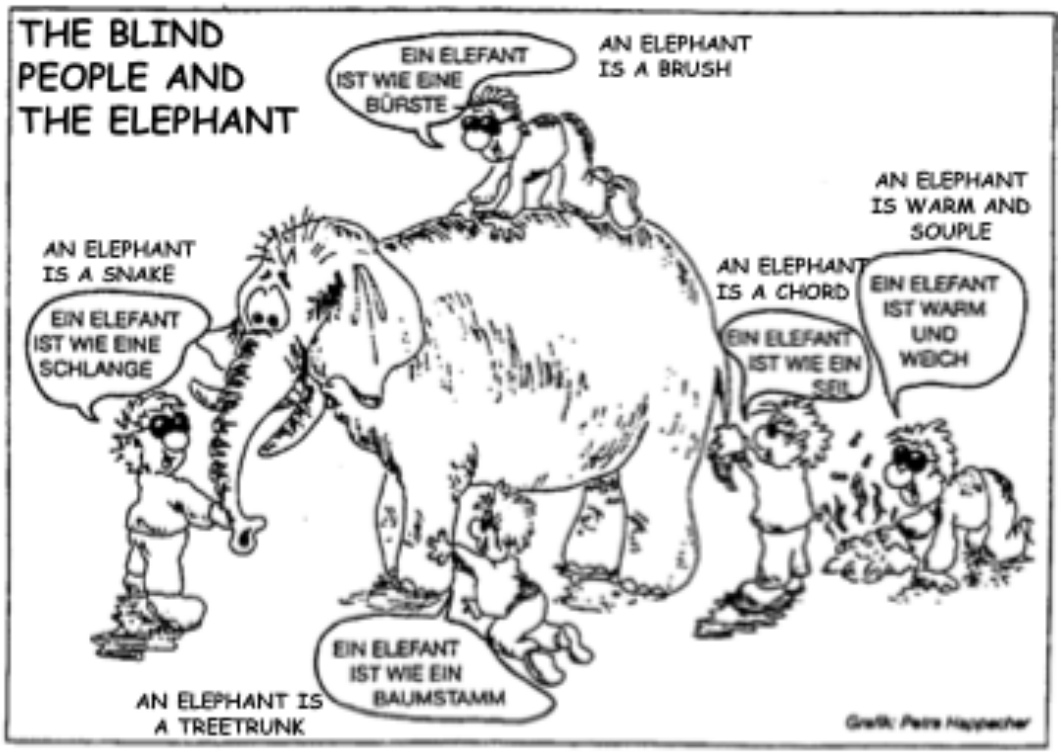
Pupil and parent perceptions and choices are less easily addressed in this context, not least because the ability of pupils and parents to choose (or not) a language in the first four years of secondary school has fluctuated significantly over the period of this study (see Chapter 6), but *can* be influenced by appropriate public campaigns by the macro-/meso-layers of governance, particularly if acting in unison, and also by factors such as effective teaching, enjoyable learning, positive role models and participation in real-life contexts. The years 1962 to 1986 saw a more elitist view of MFL learning, achievement and societal linguistic capacity during which significant parts of the pupil population were either prevented or actively discouraged from exposure to MFLs, although an elite grouo of learners had significant choices in MFL

learning (and took them as this the early part of this period was the time of highest uptake of MFLs). Since 1987, Languages for All (SED, 1989), Modern Languages in the Primary School and '1+2' ('mother tongue' plus two further languages) (Scottish Government, 2012a) have ostensibly been the defining principles of the Scottish Office and its successors, seeking to bring all primary and secondary learners into contact with MFLs. It should, therefore, be possible to discern how governance actors have moved to support these changes and how their actions have interacted with pupil/parental choice. The nature and success of governance actions to support and improve MFLs are analysed in Chapter 6. However, educational and political governance are not merely applied to MFLs but to all aspects of Scottish education and so the structures and aspects of agency in Scottish politico-educational governance are considered in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

The nature of that governance and any strengths and/or areas for improvement identified may thus potentially apply broadly across education or specifically to MFLs. This rationale has identified that there are issues for governance agents to consider - internationally, in the UK and in Scotland - relating to MFL learning and teaching, that there are imperatives for and challenges to MFL learning and teaching and that the power and ability to address many and possibly most of these issues lie within the purview of political and educational leaders. Since those likely to carry out the strategic processes of governance in researching, developing, implementing, supporting, managing and evaluating the policies and initaitives at national,

local authority and school levels lie in the macro- and meso-layers of governance, this thesis will attempt to analyse their thoughts, intentions and actions, although those of the micro-layer – pupils, teachers and parents – where teaching and learning takes place are not divorced from this and will inevitably feature.

Figure 1.1 A (Bilingual) Metaphor for Failing to Integrate Differing Perspectives



(Illustration: Copyright Petra Happacher)

When considering how governance agents have approached these imperatives for, and challenges to, MFL learning and teaching, it is useful to consider the metaphorical elephant of the "blind people and the elephant" fable in Figure 1.1. In this instance, each of the blind people can be seen as researching (or, equally, carrying out a governance role with respect to) an

imperative *for* MFLs or a challenge *to* MFLs: each of these factors represents a part of the problem to be addressed. They have all gained expertise in their field of research or governance: most factors have been studied, are familiar issues to many of the key governance actors and should, to greater or lesser extents, be familiar to all of them. Thus, the nature and effectiveness of Scottish educational governance in the context of MFLs may be assessed through consideration of how educational governance in Scotland has addressed these factors, whether in isolation or in a more unified manner. Equally, using MFLs as a lens through which a wider view of the actors, aspects of agency and structures of Scottish educational governance may be gained, it is possible for this study to gain insight into the nature and effectiveness of the wider Scottish politico-educational governance system.

A key question, given the repeated initiatives to improve MFL teaching, learning and attainment to be considered in this study, is - *why* are improvements in MFL uptake and attainment not happening? Initial research for this thesis again found research on those attitudinal, motivational or cultural factors already identified and, to a much lesser extent, on the Scottish politico-educational MFL initiatives have, (mostly) designed to combat their influence and to improve publicity (and by implication, pupil/parent attitude), uptake and attainment. Why, therefore, is it that MFL initiatives are repeatedly evaluated (HMI 1969, 1990, 1998, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b; SCILT 2010a, 2011a, 2011b) as having failed to induce improvement?

What is not clear is whether the 'big picture' derived from integrating all these perspectives has been grasped, either by the research community or those responsible for the governance of MFL initiatives, or whether only aspects of the problem have been perceived. Is it that the initiatives designed to address these issues have not been effectively planned, 'joined up', 'sold', supported, implemented or evaluated, are we 'blind' to other significant factors, or is it a combination of some or all of these?

In seeking that 'big picture', this thesis demonstrates for the first time that the decline of MFL learning in Scotland is a *very* sustained process: the fluctuations and long-term reductions in qualification diversity, pupil enrolment and MFL attainment can be traced backwards, both within Scotland (see Chapter 6) and beyond, for fifty years to a time when neither the cultural hegemony of Anglo-American media nor the drive to be 'good Europeans' had their current prominence. However, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, there have been few Scottish attempts (and little more beyond Scotland), by governments and researchers alike, to analyse *why* MFL uptake and learning have been declining for half a century. Thus, questions persist, not only about teaching and learning or motivation and attitude, but also about the intent, nature and quality of politico-educational leadership and governance throughout this long decline and about the steps taken by those leaders, both to find out what the issues actually were and to consider, implement and evaluate programmes to effect improvement. This study addresses these questions.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in a number of ways. It adds to previous work on educational governance (see Sections 2.3 - 2.6) and attempts to bridge at least part of the macro-micro gap (Hammersley, 1984; Ozga, 1987) by jointly considering macro- and meso-level governance. It combines analysis of primary archival and documentary sources (e.g. government publications, HMI reports, national committee minutes and papers, local authority and school policies and papers) with the results of 40 interviews and 56 questionnaires from key and elite educational governance actors and with the first comprehensive analysis of MFL uptake and attainment in Scotland covering the period since Ordinary Grade began in 1962. A bespoke research tool (the 'governance wheel') and new methods of analysing the nature, extent, impact and quality of governance have also been specifically developed for this study. Most importantly, this thesis provides the first comprehensive analysis of the politico-educational governance of any long-term sequence of strategic developments designed to implement a major educational policy initiative in Scotland. As Humes (2013a) indicates: 'reviewing the history of policy initiatives would provide salutary lessons for all the major stakeholders' (p.107). This study *attempts* to make such a contribution.

In the complex domain of educational policy and development, it is important to remember that there are few "billiard ball" (Gage, 1989, p. 4), cause-and-

effect changes which will even partially cure the perceived problems. The topic of this study has been described by one well-informed commentator (Renton, 2009) as incorporating a number of 'wicked issues' (p. 21) – effectively, as constituting a 'wicked problem' of governance. 'Wicked problems' are defined (Rittel and Webber, 1973) as complex problems which are highly resistant to resolution. The Australian Public Service Commission report (ASPC, 2007) on wicked problems in public policy suggests they are highly resistant to resolution, challenging governance structures, the skills of governance actors and the organisational capacity of the agencies addressing the problem. Rittel and Webber (1973, p.160) added to the list of challenges, noting that wicked problems are often faced by organisations whose theoretical base is inadequate for effective forecasting of trends and developments, whose information and research bases are insufficient for the task and who are faced by multiple, rapidly changing objectives set out by rapidly-changing political bodies.

In Scotland, the backdrop to the 'wicked problem' of falling MFL uptake and attainment in schools is a landscape wherein, during the last fifty years, Scottish politics, the education system, qualifications systems and MFL teaching and learning have all undergone repeated significant changes. Although influenced by changing governance systems, structures and agents in both UK and Scottish contexts, by party politics, by changing transnational, national and local policy, by the evolving impact of English as an international

lingua franca and by societal trends, a lack of research has meant that the relative significances of these factors have not been identified.

In addressing this wicked problem of Scottish MFL governance, I analyse educational governance structures and the actions carried out by key governance actors during the years 1962 to 2014, the period of major development programmes in modern foreign languages (MFLs) in both primary and secondary schools. In so doing, I analyse for the first time the nature and quality of Scottish politico-educational governance – layers, structures, processes and agency - at both macro- and meso-levels (from national government to school leaders), to ascertain whether this governance has assisted or hindered development and also to identify whether governance is a significant factor in the perceived decline of MFL learning. The balance of structure and agency Is also considered in what is innately a politico-educational, rather than a purely educational, process. In so doing, I consider the interactions of macro-level (government, civil service and national agencies) and meso-level (councils, education services and headteachers) governance, considering both governance groups and individual actors in what is a complex, multi-layered governance system. I also provide fresh insight to help fill the 'macro-micro' gap (Hammersley, 1984; Ozga, 1987), linking national politics, policy-making and action with the policies and actions of local government and with the actions of senior leaders in schools as they attempt to fulfil national and local policy in a manner which meets the needs of their local community.

This study brings together both quantitative and qualitative data constructing, by triangulation, a multi-faceted picture of the inputs, workings and outputs of educational governance. The resulting picture is examined against a theoretical framework derived from consideration of current developments in Governance Theory to determine the nature, quality and potential of the governance of MFL in Scotland. This is an aspect of governance wherein policy, strategic governance and the governance of national development projects are nationally controlled (although often largely devolved to quasi-autonomous agencies and committees), the governance of implementation lies with local government, but there is still significant leeway for individual headteachers and, to a lesser extent, other school managers and teachers not only to participate in governance but also to insert a strong local (and, potentially, personal) dimension into the final planning and implementation of the national vision, thus possibly radically influencing the ultimate outcomes for learners in any given school. As Lynn, Heinrich and Hill (2001) suggest, such public service governance systems or projects can present the researcher with ‘an extraordinarily complex problem’ (p. 17).

1.3 The Research Focus - Nature and Approach

The focus of the research is on politico-educational governance in Scotland since 1962, examining how this has applied in the context of the governance of Modern Foreign Languages in primary and secondary schools. This thesis aims to answer the following question:

How have the nature and effectiveness of the governance of modern foreign languages in Scottish school-based education developed during the period 1962 to 2014?

To offer breadth and depth of insight, the main question is amplified to form the set of linked questions set out in Section 3.1.

In linking the *macro* (UK and Scottish governments) and *meso* (local authorities and schools) levels of educational governance, this thesis explores the actors, processes, interrelationships and structures associated with that governance as well as the principal, ostensibly cyclical, elements of governance associated with the repeated attempts to improve MFL learning in Scottish schools. The roles, organisation and complex interrelations of politicians, civil servants, national agency workers, education directorates and school leadership teams are considered, along with the evolving political and educational environments within which governance of MFL developments takes place and the impact these external changes have upon educational

governance. Although the micro level (the classroom, teacher, parents and pupils) is not a specific focus, the views of micro-level practitioners have been included through documentary analysis and by interviews with a small sample of micro-level actors (principal teachers, teachers, union leaders and parents).

Following Creswell's approach to research design (2003, pp.11-12) and after considering other paradigms (see Chapter 3), I adopt Pragmatism as an appropriate basis for the study, selecting a mixed research (MMR) approach as it fits such a complex problem with varied data sets. I employ triangulation to reduce the bias inherent in single methods and seek convergence of findings across a range of qualitative and quantitative data and methods. My research involves different phases of inquiry, at times parallel or sequential, where different data sources are examined and their results compared in the process of seeking to identify the workings and effectiveness of educational governance. I triangulate findings from analysis of documentation on policy, implementation, research and evaluation with the results of analysis of the statistical data on MFL teaching, learning and attainment and with the outcomes of analysis of the responses to questionnaires offered to a broad sample of governance actors and interviews with selected elite governance actors. From this, I synthesise a view of meso- and macro-level educational governance in Scotland and of its effectiveness. Drawing upon recent and current academic debate surrounding Governance Theory, I employ a governance theory framework as a template against which to assess the nature and effectiveness of Scottish educational governance.

Given the extent of concern about MFL learning and attainment, the dearth of research and the renewed focus on MFL teaching and learning provided by the Barcelona Council (EU, 2002, clause 44), the subsequent Action Plan (European Commission, 2003) and the new “1+2” policy of the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2012a), this research is both timeous and helpful in that it illuminates the processes, structures and actions of Scottish educational governance and contributes to academic debate on how the troubled field of MFL learning might be improved. It also provides a substantial temporal baseline and context for the examination of educational governance and for consideration of the extent to which that governance has been and is consistent, adaptive and, ultimately, effective. Finally, this study examines whether governance is integrated, whether it displays effective linkages within and across the macro- and meso-governance layers and whether there are asymmetries of power, influence, action and impact across the layers.

1.4 Structure and Content of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis consists of three separate but mutually supportive parts. The first part comprises Chapters 1-3, including this introductory chapter, the literature review (whose size is established by the need to analyse the complex set of factors influencing MFL governance in Scotland, distilling them into a manageable set of issues for consideration within this thesis) and a third chapter wherein consideration of research design and methodology occurs.

The second part comprises three large chapters containing findings related to the four research sub-questions. These might have been broken into six chapters but the contents of each chapter are inextricably linked and so the main sections of each chapter form related 'mini chapters'. Chapter 4 analyses governance structures and linkages, examining the impact of political imperatives and governance 'turns' through a combination of documentary analysis, questionnaires and interviews to develop a historical narrative which illustrates the development of governance structures. The existence, or otherwise, of hierarchies, markets and networks is thus established. The evolving structure of MFL governance is analysed, identifying changes and their implications for longer-term governance.

Chapter 5 presents findings on the actions and impact of key and elite governance actors and groups within the levels and layers of education

governance. Governance agents are identified and their influence, control, and support for MFLs are considered using Likert scale questions followed by in-depth interview questioning. The main elements of governance are identified through documentary analysis, the use of bespoke 'governance wheels' and interviews. The cyclical governance framework derived from this is used to assess the extent and quality of governance action and impact. The ability of individual elite governance actors to transcend structures and processes and thus make significant changes to the direction of MFL initiatives is considered, as are the circumstances that may permit this. This is paralleled by consideration of the 'quieter', more anonymous agency of key actors through interviews and documentary analysis. I similarly examine issues of cooperation and contention among actors and groups. Finally, the shifting balance between agency and structure is examined and the impact of these changes is identified.

Chapter 6, the largest chapter, draws together findings on how governance has affected the development of MFL learning and teaching in Scotland. By examination of national, authority and school policies, curricular advice papers, national committee minutes and papers, cross-referenced with the recollections of elite governance actors, I analyse the influences, vision(s), policy and planning leading to, as well as the processes and outcomes of, MFL planning, implementation and evaluation. Using similar means, I examine the inputs, processes and outputs generated by the governance of ten successive development waves containing 21 pan-curricular or MFL-specific

initiatives stretching from O Grade in the late 1950s to the two major initiatives currently in development. I also provide the first comprehensive analysis of Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) and Scottish Government statistical and textual data on MFL qualifications: course availability, (partially – since not all teacher records are available) teacher provision, student enrolments and attainment.

The third part (Chapters 7 and 8) provides a discussion of the outcomes and implications of my findings and identifies possible further research deriving from this study. In Chapter 7, governance approaches, models and tools from Chapter 2 are considered against my findings on Scottish educational governance structure, process and agency, in the specific context of MFLs and – where appropriate – in general, from Chapters 4 to 6. The current competing theoretical stances of governance theory are brought together in developing this theoretical framework. Ultimately, the evolution and effectiveness of MFL governance is discussed in considering its nature, whether successive governance phases have been cyclical, linear or disjoint and whether 'good governance' and/or a 'wicked problem' of governance are evident. In Chapter 8, I summarise my findings and consider the significance and implications of my findings, followed by consideration of how this research might be employed in the future governance of MFLs and of the wider impact of my findings on educational policy, development and governance and upon governance theory itself and by the identification and partial exemplification of an agenda for future research to pursue the key strands of this study.

Chapter 2 A Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

Initial research during development of the proposal for this thesis suggested a lack of research on the strategic governance of major educational initiatives in Scotland (although related research exists in England and Wales) and little application of such studies, either to the wider issues of governance in Scotland or the governance of strategic educational campaigns. This literature review builds on that work, supporting a study of the governance of MFL developments in Scottish schools during the period from 1962 to 2014. The timescale encompasses all Scottish development programmes in MFL learning and teaching from the introduction of discrete qualifications in MFLs in 1962 to the recent '1+2' (Scottish Government, 2012a). In reviewing this topic, I consider works from academic fields including education, sociology, public administration and political science and critically review the literature related to five interlinked aspects providing insight into the governance of MFL developments in Scotland. Firstly, providing a theoretical framework for the study of governance, I examine the growth and key aspects of governance theory within current scholarly thinking. Thereafter, I review educational governance, governance of Scottish education, MFL learning and Scottish MFL developments in a narrowing focus, thus developing a specific theme for this study.

The source material for the wider fields in this literature review is extensive. For example, Kjaer (2004) found 3,629 entries on ‘governance’ in a search of a single source, the Social Sciences Citation Index, for the years 1986 to 2004 (p.1). As Governance Theory forms only the basis for several layers of study leading to the specific study of educational governance in Scotland, I have deliberately restricted my governance searches to relevant journals, books and papers from education, politics, public administration and sociology, identifying criteria to determine relevant, high quality research and placing significantly greater weight on those studies which match the criteria. A few otherwise exxcluded sources have, however, been included where they shed light on specific aspects or time periods of the investigation. Following Slavin’s (2008) ‘best evidence’ approach, keyword searches were used with combinations of terms designed to bring out the key arguments in the field (see Appendix 2). I also used frequency and mutuality of citation as touchstones to identify key texts and research/policy communities. Searches were also carried out in educational governance and Scottish educational governance, although producing far fewer results due to the limited research in these fields. Parallel processes were employed in examining modern foreign language policy, governance and learning, moving towards a more detailed focus on (UK and) Scottish MFL policy, implementation, outcomes and governance.

2.2 Governance Theory

> The idea of a shift from markets and hierarchies towards networks and partnerships as modes of coordination is a dominant narrative.
> (Newman 2003, p. 85)

In the last forty years, governance theory has twice radically shifted its focus. In the 1970s and 1980s, the first such 'turn' saw a move from the hierarchical processes of the "Westminster model" (Gamble, 1990) and the post-war consensus supporting the Beveridge/Keynes Welfare State (Beer, 1965; Birch, 1964; Chitty, 1992) to a marketization/privatisation agenda and successive governments' attempts to balance state and private governance actors' powers and resources in improving public services. Much governance research (e.g. Jessop, 1974; Pierre, 1999, 2000; Pierre & Peters, 2000; Rhodes, 1994; Williamson, 1979) and educational governance research (e.g. Ball, 1994a, 1994b, 2001; Cole, 1998; Chitty, 2004; Hatcher, 2008; Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Power & Frandji, 2010; Whitty, 2002) has centred on the struggles surrounding state-market dualism, the retreat from 'big government' and a suggested subjugation of the state by market forces, although with greater resonance in England than in Scotland. Further insights came from theorists considering structure, agency and culture (e.g. Giddens, 1976, 1979, 1984; Hays, 1994; Sewell, 1992).

The second shift, notably described by Ball (2009a, p.537) as the 'governance turn', saw further theoretical development during the late 1990s and early

2000s, moving from state-market dualism to network governance (e.g. Ball & Junemann, 2012; Kickert, Klijn, & Koppenjan, 1997; Mayntz, 1993; Newman, 2003; Rhodes, 1990, 1996; Scharpf, 1997a, 1997b). As I illustrate later, there have since been further theoretical developments, including re-assessment of the role of network governance, which may constitute a third governance 'turn'.

In this section, I review the origins and definition of governance, examine progress in developing and applying governance theory and identify issues affecting its use as a tool for the analysis of educational governance. Although governance theorists (e.g. Ball, 1994a, 1994c; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Newman, 2003; Richardson & Jordan, 1979; Rhodes, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) would argue that hierarchies and markets have been displaced by networked governance, I present evidence that, historically, all three are pertinent to this thesis and also that none of these manifestations of governing – hierarchy, market or network – is itself currently sufficient to describe Scottish educational governance.

2.2.1 Etymology and Genealogy of Governance

> One of the penalties for refusing to participate in politics, is that you end up being governed by your inferiors.
>
> (Plato)

In considering the etymology of governance, Huynh-Quan-Suu (2005) identifies its origin in ancient Greek where the verb *kubernan* (to steer a ship) was adopted by Plato to express the concept of 'steering' the populace. Imported into English in the 14th century via Latin and the Romance languages, the "traditional" English definition of governance refers to the acts, processes or styles of governing and government. Although some variations of meaning are discernable across European languages, the English definition solidified within dictionaries just as the word faded into relative disuse. It has, however, enjoyed a modern revival, becoming a 'vogue word' or 'buzzword' (Rhodes, 1997a; Jessop, 1998) for many and, at times, seemingly any (Frederickson, 2004) aspects of government, public administration or steering. Steering is also at the root of the other common term in governance theory, the German 'steuerung', although Mayntz (1993) warns that the Anglophone usage is more akin to 'politische steuerung' (pp. 9-11) in German. The metaphor of steering the ship has been extended in the New Right-driven debates on marketisation to describe 'big government' as 'too much rowing and too little steering' (Cleveland, 1972; Rhodes, 1996).

2.2.2 Origins of Governance Theory

> … a hot topic for ivory tower academics, this-worldly practitioners, and philosophers seeking to reinterpret the world or change it to new ways.
> (Jessop, 2003, p.101)

The foundation of governance theory lies with Harlan Cleveland (Fenger & Bekkers, 2007; Frederickson, 2004) who revived the 'relatively dormant' (Jessop, 1998, p.31) concept of governance in his campaign to modernise and codify US public administration. Cleveland's (1972, pp.13-15) core arguments provided the foundations of governance thinking, suggesting a move from centralised, governmental power structures and pyramidal hierarchies controlled from the apex to more open, participatory and interdependent systems. Given the increasing difficulties of governments (as Cleveland experienced within the Kennedy administration) in gaining political support from civil society, it is unsurprising that he visualised governing bodies (at whatever level) as becoming interlaced systems or networks with fewer 'top-down' controls, more diffuse power structures and multiple decision-making 'actors' (collective or individual). Decision-making would become more complex as the decision-making organisation would (have to) negotiate with multiple stakeholders/power-wielders/interest groups and the 'flattening' of organisations would lead to more collegial, consensual, and consultative decision-making. Although Cleveland's public administration study laid the foundations for the current study of governance, it is little acknowledged beyond the USA with many eminent European governance authors (including

Bang, Jessop, Rhodes, Mayntz and Kooiman) re-treading his footsteps years later, seemingly without reference to his earlier work and, in some cases, attributing the genesis of governance to the World Bank or each other.

'Ownership' of governance theory passed beyond Cleveland's group as their work was quickly appropriated by US-based transnational organisations (e.g. World Bank, United Nations and OECD) as an operational tool. The centre of gravity in governance thinking, however, shifted again from transnational governance and quantitative measurement of government (Grek & Ozga, 2009) to several groups of institutional, political and public administration theorists. By the 1990s, the principal argument in governance literature (e.g. Hoff, 2003; Kooiman, 1993; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992a; Mayntz, 2003; Richardson & Jordan, 1979; Rhodes, 1996, 1997a) held that a variety of transnational, political, economic and societal developments had undermined the capacity of governments to control events within the nation state - Cleveland's (unacknowledged) hypothesis revisited. Trends, including multi-level governance (the flow of power from traditional government institutions upwards to transnational bodies and/or downwards to regions and sub-regions), globalisation, the rise of policy networks/communities and of social partnerships, greater access to information and the increasing complexity of modern society are considered by commentators to have caused this (e.g. Rhodes, 1997a; Frederickson, 2004). Consequently, the state could 'no longer assume a monopoly of expertise or of the resources to govern, but

must rely on a plurality of interdependent institutions and actors drawn from within and beyond government' (Newman, 2001, pp.11-12).

This trend is referred to, again echoing Cleveland, as a 'turn' (Ball, 2009a) from government to governance. As Kahler and Lake (2002) state, 'governance is not government' (p.8). Nations represent part of the wider governance environment but transnational government bodies, corporations, QUANGOs, local democratic groups/representatives and/or interest groups all operate authoritatively within local, national or global systems in an increasingly intricate process of multilateral negotiation (Frederickson, 2004; Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1999). Since all of these groupings provide agency in governance, the agents of government (individuals or groups) necessarily represent only a part of this repertory company of governance actors.

2.2.3 Defining Governance

> Fortunately, some who use the term are serious about the matter of definition and precision; others however are not.
>
> (Frederickson, 2004, p.12)

Academic authorities differ on the definition of governance. I concur with Jessop (1998) and Frederickson (2004) that the academic literature on governance is eclectic, broadly based and relatively disjointed. Nevertheless, it would not be uncommon for governance scholars (e.g. Jessop 1998; Mayntz 2003) to accept that, in general terms, there are two strategic approaches to

defining the 'governance paradigm' (Jessop, 1998, p.29). The two approaches are closely related, with one forming a subset of the other. The broader definition of governance (Bekkers, Dykstra, Edwards, & Fenger, 2007; Jessop, 1998) refers to *any* mode of coordination of interdependent activities. Although there are many such modes, the three selected here using Jessop's (1998) Critical Realist terminology – organizational hierarchy, exchange/market-based pseudo-anarchy and self-organising heterarchy – are the most commonly described by commentators (e.g. Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Jessop 1998; Kjaer, 2004) and are particularly relevant in studying politico-educational governance. The second definition (e.g. by Ball & Junemann, 2012; Bang, 2003; Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Jessop, 1998; Kooiman, 1993; Lynn *et al.*, 2001; Mayntz, 2003; Kjaer, 2004; Newman, 2005; Rhodes, 1996, 1997a; Stoker, 1997, 1998), described by Jessop (1999, p.351) as 'governance in the narrow sense', is the third element of the larger set: i.e. heterarchies or networks. Both definitions apply within this thesis considering the nature and effectiveness of governance but also seeking to establish which aspects of hierarchical, market or networked governance constitute that governance.

In accepting these definitions, I offer in Table 2.1 a slightly revised version of Rhodes' (1999) definition of the characteristics of these three forms of governance in the following table, noting that the items listed for Basis of Relationships, Medium of Exchange and Means of Coordination are the likeliest to be observed for that category but are not unique:

Table 2.1 Key Characteristics of Hierarchies, Markets and Heterarchies

	Hierarchies	**Markets**	**Heterarchies/ Networks**
Underlying Culture	Subordination	Competition and commercial activity	Cooperation, reciprocity but also contention
Degree of Dependence	Dependent	Generally independent	Interdependent
Direction of Control	Downwards	Unpredictable	Sideways
Basis of Relationships	Employment and/or patronage	Contracts and resource/ property rights	Resource exchange
Medium of Exchange	Authority	Money	Trust
Means of Coordination and Conflict Resolution	Rules and instructions	Haggling and litigation	Diplomacy and negotiation

Source: Developed from Rhodes' foreword (1999, p.xviii), to Stoker, G. (ed.), *The New Management of British Local Level Governance* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan).

The first two aspects of Jessop's broader governance definition feature strongly in the period considered by this thesis and, to an extent contested by governance theorists, continue into the post-devolution era, but with the issues of state-market duality increasingly overlaid by the peculiarly local dimensions of government and governance in Scotland. Thereafter, I review the third aspect, reflecting the complexity of the current debate surrounding network governance. All three modes of governance are ultimately brought

together to consider governance structures, processes, actions and interrelations.

Hierarchical Governance

> It has always struck me as strange that many academic observers of the government scene have for many years been implicitly writing off the traditional "Westminster model" as if it was now out-dated.
>
> (Duggett, 2009, p.1)

Hierarchies are perceived to implement the decisions of those 'in authority' (Duverger, 1951; Mitchell, 1991, pp.105-106; Duggett, 2009). Hoff (2003, p. 47) succinctly describes hierarchies as 'steering from above'. They assume many forms from the relatively simple to complex, multi-level organisations (Mitchell, 1993). The general features of hierarchy are: a pyramidal structure, bureaucracy, subdivision of tasks, graded autonomy, employer-employee relationships and a 'leaders know best' (Rhodes 1997a, p.4) culture. Hierarchies operate through centralisation of power ('vertical integration'), and promote stability, continuity and order through centralized control of planning, policy development along with implementation through bureaucratic systems and processes (Rhodes, 1997a, 1997b).

Commentators (e.g. Bevir and Rhodes, 2003; Cleveland, 1972; Hay, 1996; Jessop, 1998; Mayntz, 1993; Rhodes, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) often describe hierarchical governance as traditional, outmoded and inextricably intertwined with the 'Westminster model' (e.g. Rhodes, 2007, p.1246) of government. The model focuses on parliamentary sovereignty, strong cabinet government,

accountability though elections, majority party control and a significant degree of ritual and convention (Birch, 1964; Gamble, 1990; Rhodes, 1997a, 1997b, 2007; Weller, 1989). As Rhodes (1997a, p.5) indicates, the Westminster model has been central to British government but its centrality came under increasing scrutiny in the post-Atlantic-Fordist period following the thirty years of post-war consensus. Critics of the Westminster model (e.g. Hay, 1996; Hennessy, 1992; Hutton, 1996; Rhodes, 1997a, 1997b, 2007; Williams, 1995) are perhaps less generous in defining it, emphasising its centralisation, executive dominance, rigidity, organisational staidness, unwritten constitution and predilection for 'first past the post' electoral systems, thus preserving one-party rule (a corollary to Duverger's (1951) Law), as well as an obsession with secrecy and bureaucracy.

Despite the issues inherent in the Westminster model and the views noted above, I suggest that it is difficult to see the hierarchical model as having disappeared, and that there is support for this both in recent analyses (e.g. Ball & Junemann, 2012; Duggett, 2009; Jessop, 1998; Marsh, 2011; Rhodes, 1997a) and in the definition of some recent governance models (e.g. Metagovernance (Jessop, 1998, 2003) or the Asymmetric Power Model (Marsh, 2011)). Some commentators (e.g. Hay, 1996, Duggett, 2009) also perceive benefits in well-run hierarchies - well-defined allocation of decision-making powers and accountability, effective implementation of large-scale government schemes through local agency, devolution of considerable powers to local authorities, investment of significant societal trust in the

professional expertise of teachers and headteachers (Dale, 1989) – which should not be rejected without consideration.

Market Forms of Governance

> Thus government, trying not to grow but also trying to meet the people's expectations, farms out to private organizations (business firms, research organizations, and non-profit agencies) a very large part of the 'public business'.
>
> (Cleveland 1972, p.57)

The appearance of market forms of governance in public service is related to a politically widespread desire to reject the post-war consensus with its belief, and investment of power, in politicians, professionalism and partnership (Callaghan, 1976; Bullock & Thomas, 1997). In Western economics, this was allied to a growing neo-liberal agenda within the Conservative Party of Thatcher and Major and similar moves in the Republican Party in the USA under Reagan, G.H. Bush and G.W. Bush (Donahue, p.2), although it would be fair to suggest that neither the New Labour New Public Management approach of Blair and Brown nor the Clinton Democratic economic strategy deviated to any great extent from that of their (more) right-wing opponents.

The concept of market governance relates to the deployment of mechanisms of supply and demand in governance systems and processes. The introduction of market-driven governance into the public sector derives from the New Right thinking described in the previous paragraph, from growing distrust of the governments and professionals who operated the governance

system during the post-war period of consensus and from a desire to reform and improve public services (and to reduce costs and perceived inefficiencies). According to Bekkers *et al.* (2007, pp.23-24), the dominant themes have been the primacy of the consumer (the 'demand' side of the market), the need to hold public services and politicians/professionals (together, the 'supply' side) operating these services accountable for their actions and use of public finance and the need to create 'level playing fields' in which suppliers/providers can compete with each other to increase efficiency. The implications of this approach for educational governance and, in particular, Scottish educational governance are considered in Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

For a generation, academic literature on UK governance policy has been dominated by studies (e.g. Ball 2003, 2008, 2009b; Chitty, 2004; Hatcher, 2006, 2008; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992b; Trowler, 2003; Whitfield, 2000; Whitty & Power, 2000) emphasising the displacement of hierarchical forms of governance by market forms. The concepts of marketisation, privatisation, commodification, agencification (Saward, 1997) and destatisation (Crook, Pakulski, & Waters, 1992, p.80) are central aspects of a neo-liberal argument seeking to transform the Westminster Model to a supplier-consumer environment within which 'big government' becomes small, with functions being transferred 'downwards', 'sideways' and 'upwards' (Crook *et al.*, 1992, p.80) and wherein the commercial sector assumes control over much/most public service provision. Inevitably, such scenarios raise questions about

democracy and accountability and also about the effectiveness of public service delivery. However, some commentators (e.g. Docherty, 2002, p.4) suggested that this apparent ascendancy of market-based governance might not last long, particularly should the buoyant economic climate of the late 1990s and early 2000s prove to be a passing phase (as has proved to be the case).

In a UK context, many commentators (e.g. Ball, 2007, 2008; Gewirtz, 2002; Hatcher, 2006; Jessop, 2007; Marquand, 2004; Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Whitty & Power, 2000; Whitty, 2002) would confirm the existence of a reasonably continuous, neoliberal, marketising consensus connecting the Thatcher and, particularly, Major Conservative governments with the Blair/Brown New Labour governments that followed them, although others (e.g. Martin & Muschamp, 2008; Newman, 2001) would see much of the New Labour programme as an attempt to *further* 'transform and modernise' services (Martin & Muschamp, p. 91) and some (e.g. Stoker, 2006) would see a progression from traditional hierarchy to New Public Management (NPM) to Public Value Management. One must also wonder why the quiet (re-) centralisation processes of New Labour were apparently noticed by only a few (Clarke & Newman, 1997; Jessop, 2002; Newman, 2001), given (Old) Labour's natural affinity for state control. However, the degree of applicability of market-based governance to public sector services has been, and is, a highly contentious topic (Hoggett & Hambleton, 1987; Stewart & Ranson, 1988) and this is especially notable in academic debate about the role of

markets in education (Ball, 1993a; Bowe & Ball, 1992, Bullock & Thomas, 1997; Levacic, 1995).

In Scotland, attempts to introduce market-driven governance in public services, particularly in education, have been complicated by the essential differences of Scottish civic society, the distinct educational system and by an increasingly vociferous rejection of the neo-liberal market governance ideas of the Thatcher, Major, Blair and Brown governments. The rise of the SNP in Scotland is by no means wholly related to a dislike for market-driven governance but the Blair/Brown continuation of such key Tory initiatives has seen Labour's urban heartland reject its perceived move to the Right and, more recently, defect to the SNP in significant numbers.

However, not even in England and Wales did wholesale marketisation or complete decentralisation of public services occur as successive governments failed to wholly or consistently embrace the necessary policy stance. In Scotland, neither marketisation nor decentralisation followed the pathways hoped for by the Thatcher and Major governments (Humes, 1995). Consequently, 'centralisation of control' (Williams, 1995), often in tandem with 'decentralisation of responsibility' (Ball, 1993), continued, albeit in changed forms (Ball & Junemann, 2012), as one of the dominant features in British and Scottish politico-educational governance.

Whether from a UK or Scottish perspective, market-based governance appears to have key weaknesses. Although there are clear signs of agencification (e.g. the appearance of educational agencies such as SCEEB, CCC and GTC) during the period of expansion and consensus, the Scottish agencies do not constitute a market nor does agencification accurately describe governance or education policy under the Thatcher/Major governments, New Labour or successive Scottish governments. Theorists suggest that the range of policies pursued by UK governments transcends the label of marketisation. For example, Busher and Saran (1993, pp.179-180) describe 'inconsistencies between intentions and outcomes' in governmental policies, undermining the neo-liberal drive for marketisation, even under Thatcher. Ball and Junemann (2012) consider smaller-scale markets, but in concert with a wider, networked governance structure.

Educational governance in the New Labour period would be more accurately seen as bringing traditional power bases of professional and institutional power (including agencies) under central political control (Bullock & Thomas, 1997; Clarke & Newman, 1997). Jessop's (1998, 2003) and Fawcett's (2009) writings on Metagovernance and Marsh's (2011) Asymmetric Power Model support this view of increasing centralisation (and thus hierarchy). Crucially, marketisation ignores the increasing divergence between the Scottish and English political and educational systems (Leith, 2009; Ozga, 2002) which was apparent before Thatcher but increased rapidly during the Forsyth period and even more so with devolution and then an SNP majority government. The

details of supply and demand operating in Scottish governance and particularly with respect to education are considered further in Section 2.4 on Scottish Educational Governance where a final conclusion is reached about the applicability of Market Governance to Scottish education.

Heterarchic or Network Governance

> There have always been issues and problems for which heterarchic governance is, so to speak, the 'natural' mode of co-ordination.
> (Jessop, 1998, p.31)

Heterarchies take several forms (Jessop, 1998), whether self-organising interpersonal networks, negotiated inter-organisational co-ordination or de-centred, context-mediated inter-systemic steering - or dezentrierte Kontextsteuerung as Glagow & Willke (1987) describe it. Disagreeing with some governance authors (e.g. Bang, 2003; Ball & Junemann, 2011; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992a; Rhodes, 1997a), both Jessop (1998, 2003) and Glagow and Willke (1987) suggest that complex systems should be steered by working within their internal codes and logics, modifying the contexts in which these function and coordinating them across different systems in the light of their interdependencies. There are potential resonances between this model and the governance of the complex, layered systems of Scottish education.

Heterarchic governance has interpersonal, inter-organisational and inter-systemic contexts, but is largely described at the middle level where

organisations with multiple group and individual stakeholders, public-private partnerships, political parties, interest groups and social movements interact (Jessop, 1993, 1998; Kooiman, 2003). Many commentators (Ball, 2008; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Kickert *et al.*, 1997; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992a; Richardson & Jordan, 1979; Rhodes, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) see an expression of this organisational role in the context of policy networks. Kickert *et al.* (1997, p.6) see policy networks as '(more or less) stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes'. Both Mayntz (1993) and Jessop (1998) see self-organisational steering as being particularly useful in cases of operational autonomy, loose coupling, complex reciprocal interdependence and shared interests and projects.

This amalgam of theory, issues, actors, structures and relations is described as 'network governance' (Rhodes 1997a), the 'governance paradigm' (Jessop 1998; Bekkers *et al.*, 2007) or the 'governance approach' (Goodwin, 2011). Governance, 'New Governance' and 'network governance' are all terms used to describe governance or 'rule' in, by and through networks (Bevir & Rhodes 2003, p. 41; Bevir & Richards 2009, p.3), although Rhodes did also describe governance as merely 'a vogue word for reforming the public sector' (cited in Kjaer 2004, p.4). Networks potentially help to explain at least some political/educational governance changes over the last three decades by extending the range of agents and structures examined beyond the inherently powerful actors and institutions of government to include a range of non-state

actors and the (politically) significant but relatively unexplored interrelations between and amongst them but, regrettably, network theorists (e.g. Ball, 2009c) often fail to consider governmental centralisation activities or multi-level/multi-modal governance structures and processes. I concur with recent critics (e.g. Goodwin, 2009; Parker, 2007) in suggesting that network governance may be only a 'component of a more general shift' (Goodwin, 2009, p.113) in governance.

2.2.4 Phases of Governance Theory

Governance theorists agree that Governance Theory itself has experienced several phases of development with significant 'turns' (Ball, 2009a) from one phase to another and with increasingly polarised stances being adopted by groups of leading theorists. These are analysed in this sub-section.

Phase 1: The 'Descriptive' Phase of Network Governance

> Governance is about managing networks.
>
> (Rhodes 1996, p.658)

Initially, governance theorists invested much effort in attempting to identify and describe forms of governance. Since the 1970s, many governance theorists have argued that non-hierarchical modes of governance display significant promise in addressing the perceived problems of state failure (e.g. Borzel, 2007; Cleveland, 1972; Jessop, 1998; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992a; Mayntz &

Scharpf, 1995a; Pierre & Peters, 1998; Richardson & Jordan, 1979; Scharpf, 1997). Predicated upon limited state resources and the breakdown of societal trust in politicians and politics, the views of such commentators see the direct participation of non-state actors from industry and commerce, the voluntary sector, specific interest groups and social groupings in public policy-making as being crucial to improving the quality of public policy and public service provision. Non-state actors, they suggest, bring fresh impetus, expertise and 'buy-in' to the processes of public service provision, but not, I suggest, without exacting a price in terms of gaining aspects of power and control from the executive.

Many commentators (Kooiman, 1993; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992a; Mayntz, 1993; Rhodes, 1990, 1996; Richardson & Jordan, 1979; Scharpf, 1993) held that, beyond markets and hierarchies, there were more effective coordination mechanisms 'than science has hitherto grasped empirically and conceptualized theoretically' (Scharpf, 1993, p.57 (translated and cited by Jessop, 1998)). Five principal schools of thought addressed these issues: the US and Dutch Public Administration schools, the German Steuerung school, and the UK and Scandinavian Governance schools. I suggest that, despite variations of thought across/within schools, they share a common vision and approach to governance, namely that Westminster-style governments have increasingly responded to external pressures by adopting new forms of reflexive, network-based 'steering' as a replacement for hierarchical government.

The ‘arch-prophet’ of this phase was Rod Rhodes. Rhodes, originally an institutionalist/behaviouralist (Lowndes, 2010), changed stance, developing a set of linked themes ultimately known as the ‘Anglo-governance model’. He argued that post-war Britain had changed from a unitary state to a ‘complex, multiform maze’ (Rhodes, 1997a, p.2) of institutions which comprise the ‘differentiated polity’, characterised by a shift from a strong executive (‘leaders know best’ (*ibid.*, p.4)) to a segmented executive (built upon bargaining and ‘rules of the game’ - within and across networks), resource-dependent policy networks, a ‘centreless” or ‘hollowed-out’ state and driven by governance rather than government. Despite the quality of theory and analysis across governance schools, it is Rhodes’ work which is most cited by commentators and which forms *the* salient reference point for most on-going governance thought, even amongst the most contradictory of his peers. It was also the elaboration of Rhodes’ phase-one theories that engendered the intense debate leading to the second phase of governance theory and practice.

Other thinkers contributed key concepts to this initial phase of governance theorising. Jessop (e.g. 1998), Kickert *et al.* (1999), Kooiman (1993), Marsh (during and after his work with Rhodes), Marsh and Stoker (1995), Mayntz (1993), Pierre & Peters (1998), Scharpf (1997) and Stoker (1997, 1998) all made significant contributions, both to the description of governance and to its application. Some, however, have argued that little was done to conceptualise governance (e.g. Jose, 2009; Marsh, 2011). I agree with this but see the exponential growth of governance applications and the constant need (Frederickson, 2004) to *describe* yet another form of governance as

having obscured important analytical research. This included Stoker's five propositions (Stoker, 1998) which ranked alongside Rhodes' work in defining a framework for the analysis of governance, Jessop's Critical Realist examinations of state governance, Marsh's pursuit of alternative theoretical bases for governance, Mayntz's broadening of governance beyond politics and Scharpf's (1997, 2003) critical examination of the roles of governance actors. Nevertheless, criticism of the apparent superficiality of phase-one theories (and theorists) grew, setting the scene for a fresh direction.

Phase 2: The 'Analytical' Phase of Network Governance

> Following Cleveland's treatise, the popularity of the word governance soared and while gaining altitude evidently lost oxygen. In an oxygen-deprived state many scholars engaged in excesses and failures in their considerations of governance. Some engaged in fuzzy definitions of governance and others simply didn't bother with definitions.
>
> (Frederickson, 2004, p.30)

As this enthusiasm for describing and applying governance theory in yet more fields and contexts grew, governance analysts (e.g. Jessop, 2003, Frederickson, 2004; Raab, 2001; Stoker, 2004) increasingly questioned whether this enhanced the effectiveness and usage of governance or rendered it meaningless. Key thinkers, particularly Rhodes who had extended his governance writings to include 'avowedly speculative' (Rhodes, 1994) thinking, suffered significant criticism. Higher-order theoretical debates finally developed on the epistemological, ontological and paradigmatic bases of governance, the reality or otherwise of governance models and, depending on

the theoretical stance of the proponent, the balance between structure and agency or the influence of traditions and dilemmas. The main concern, however, revolved around the view that many of the phase one theorists had taken a descriptive, positivist approach (Hoff, 2003) to governance theory, seemingly content to describe and set in motion new forms of governance (Frederickson, 2004) and to ignore the development of a sound theoretical basis (*ibid*., 2004).

Essentially, the second phase grew from the debate surrounding the existence, or otherwise, of key aspects of Rhodes' Anglo-governance model (Rhodes, 1997a, 1997b), policy networks (Rhodes & Marsh, 1992a), the 'differentiated polity' (Rhodes, 1988, 1997a, 1997b), the 'hollowed-out state' (Rhodes, 1997a, 1997b) and the role of the Core Executive (Rhodes & Dunleavy, 1995). Significant regroupings took place (for example, Marsh *from* Rhodes *to* Stoker and Bevir *to* Rhodes, or perhaps vice-versa), but perhaps none more so than that of Rhodes himself in his Damascene shift to Interpretivism. Polarisation of governance theorists continued beyond the millennium; critics included previously 'pro-Rhodes' thinkers such as Marsh (2011), joined by a new wave of public administration theorists (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, 2006, 2010; Frederickson, 2004; Jessop, 2000, 2003; Kickert *et al.*, 1997; Peters 2001; Stoker, 2004), institutionalists (Hoff, 2003; March & Olsen, 2005; Peters, 1999; Pierre & Peters, 2005) and political theorists (Bevir, 1996, Sorensen & Torfing, 2007), all of whom disputed aspects of Rhodes' original views. Others, e.g. Kooiman, Mayntz and, for a while, Ball

(although he later followed the Bevir and Rhodes pathway), held to Rhodes' original views.

Alternative governance theories now emerged to challenge the re-established hegemony of Rhodes and his newer associates. Metagovernance (Jessop, 2003, 2004) promoted consideration of multi-layer governance (Beukel, 2001) within an essentially hierarchical structure (described in the next sub-section) but permitting state control of a mixture of hierarchies, markets and networks and of state and non-state actors. Other multi-layer governance models were developed, including the Asymmetric Power Model (again described later) by Marsh and his (new) associates. Finally, Rhodes shifted his stance to a decentred, Interpretivist approach, rejecting Metagovernance and similar models, and aligning with Bevir to embrace Interpretivism. Nevertheless, criticism of Rhodes' approach(es) continued (Goodwin, 2009; Marcussen & Torfing, 2007; Marsh, 2011; Parker, 2007; Saward, 2007) throughout this period. I therefore complete my review of governance theory with an analysis of the current situation and consideration of governance issues with specific significance for a study of Scottish educational governance.

Whither Now: Phase 3 or Life-After-Governance?

> … the decentred narrative focuses on the social construction of patterns of rule through the ability of individuals to create meanings in action.
>
> (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010, p.91)

Bevir and Rhodes (2010, Ch.5) now suggest there are three governance 'waves': the Anglo-governance wave (ignoring the wider network governance debate, the Dutch governance model and German/US/Scandinavian developments), a Metagovernance wave (ignoring other inputs to the second network phase) and a decentred approach (apparently assuming their approach occupies the entire third wave). After the phase two debates, Bevir and Rhodes began an 'Interpretivist project' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2010) on British government, rejecting other philosophical stances, particularly the Critical Realist stance of Jessop, Marsh and MacAnulla, and arguing that there is no *science* in political science, rather an interpretive *art* (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003). This stance derives from their view that to enquire is to explore and understand the assumptions, beliefs and meanings of key governance actors, thus providing an explanation of governance actions, processes, and institutions. Political science becomes an interpretative discipline built upon hermeneutic philosophy rather than positivism. For them, *all* explanations, even quantitative studies, become narratives. Thus, they establish a complex (but perhaps not deeply-rooted?) basis for their decentred theory of governance based on 'tradition, belief and dilemma', within which some critics (e.g. Goodwin, 2009: Marsh, 2011) believe there are fundamental

flaws and contradictions. Bevir and Rhodes suggest political scientists should employ (a) ethnography, to uncover people's beliefs and preferences, and (b) history, to uncover traditions as they develop in response to dilemmas. Thus, the outcome of research is a *story* of other people's conceptions of what they are doing, based on their views on changes in government, the economy, and society. They would therefore see governance as 'the contingent and unintended outcome of competing narratives of governance' (Bevir, 2007), whether of equal weight or not.

Other significant schools of thought also add significant value to the theory and practice of governance and thus cannot be ignored. Marsh remains a key voice. Although Rhodes' previous collaborator, he later returned to criticise the first wave authors initially exempting Rhodes (and Bevir) from criticism, but in his latest writings (Marsh, 2011; Marsh & Stoker, 2010) he rejects Rhodes' and Bevir's dismissal of his Asymmetric Power Model and of Jessop's Metagovernance approach and points to what he considers (and I concur) to be significant flaws in their arguments, not least the clashes between their interpretivist stance and the descriptions of network governance quasi-models in their recent work (Marsh, 2011, p.36) or their apparent espousal of objectivity and normative practices. Stoker, Marsh's current collaborator, also continues to provide key frameworks for, and meaningful insights into, governance. In Stoker's article (1998, pp.18-19) on the Five Propositions of Governance, he identifies five key dilemmas of governance:

1. The disconnection between the complex realities of governance and the simpler, normative codes used to explain government
2. The blurring of responsibilities in governance, often leading to allocation of blame and strategies to avoid blame
3. The unintended consequences which arise in situations of mutual power dependence within a complex governance system
4. The issues of accountability and dissatisfaction which arise among individuals and groups – both those included in governance structures and those excluded from them
5. The likelihood of failure in a complex governance system, even where those attempting to control the system operate with openness and flexibility.

These dilemmas will be returned to in Setion 7.3, where Scottish MFL governance is considered in the light of Governance Theory.

Given the strength of argument and meaningful insights demonstrated by at least some of their competitors, it is difficult to fully understand Bevir and Rhodes' standpoint, as they appear to ignore elements of contradiction in their own work whilst rejecting others' beneficial insights. All contenders in this debate appear to possess elements of wisdom but yet there appears to be little attempt (on any part) to unify these worthwhile philosophical and theoretical elements.

2.2.5 Potential Governance Models

Although one set of protagonists in the continuing governance debates would not consider modelling to be an appropriate activity, governance models do offer a means of examining governance. The relative merits and characteristics of the principal models are therefore considered here.

The Asymmetric Power Model (APM)

Marsh proposes the Asymmetric Power Model to analyse and frame governance, distinct from the Westminster model, marketisation or network governance. In Marsh's view, the Asymmetric Power Model (see Table 2.2) proposes that (a) hierarchy is the dominant form of governance and government remains strong but challenged, (b) there are inherent asymmetries in UK/Scottish governance, (c) there is an overarching, although increasingly contested, political tradition and (d) societal inequalities influence the asymmetric power relationships among the governing groups and individuals. Unlike Bevir and Rhodes, Marsh sees agency as both constrained and facilitated by institutions and structures. He suggests inequities of resource distribution generate variable access to the processes of policy-making but do not necessarily determine policy outcomes: outcomes cannot be assumed from knowledge of the inequities of access and resource (Marsh 2011, p.42).

Metagovernance

Jessop (1998) and Fawcett (2009) use Metagovernance, 'the governance of governance', to describe how the state controls governance – hierarchy, markets and/or networks - and their mutual articulation. This is a significantly different position from that of Sorensen and Torfing (2007, p.182) who see Metagovernance purely in terms of network control, or of Bevir and Rhodes who see it as the state's 'use of negotiation, diplomacy, and more informal modes of steering' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010, p.86). Jessop, also Bell and Hindmoor (2008) and Fawcett (2009), see the other authors as restricting or underestimating the role of the state which they see (correctly, I suggest) as retaining (and possibly enhancing) its capacity to influence and control self-regulating markets and networks (Marsh 2011, p.44), although they accept the possible involvement of other actors in Metagovernance. Inevitably, this approach does not satisfy Bevir and Rhodes since it directly challenges the 'hollow state' and proposes the idea that a mixed economy of hierarchy, markets and networks co-exists within a Metagovernance framework wherein hierarchy is 'an important, if not the most important, form of coordination and governance' (Fawcett 2009, p.24). An analysis of the key characteristics of the three competing 'models' (with apologies to Bevir and Rhodes for applying the word to their work) is therefore presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Key Characteristics of Third Phase Governance Models

	Network Governance/ Differentiated Polity 'Model' (/Narrative)	Asymmetric Power Model	Metagovernance Approach
Proponents	Bevir & Rhodes	Marsh, Richards, Smith; later McAnulla	Jessop, Dunsire; later Bell & Hindmoor, Fawcett
Governance or Government?	Governance, rather than Government	Governance, rather than Government	Government AND Governance
Modes of Governance	Networks form main mode, but mixed modes are present	Mixed modes of Governance; hierarchy is the main mode	Mixed Governance modes, occurring in the shadow of hierarchy
Nature of Government	Weak(ened), 'hollowed out' government; 'partnership' with non-state actors	Strong state, although increasingly challenged	Strong state, acting as the Key Metagovernor
Nature of Core Executive	Segmented Executive	Strong, if segmented, executive	Strong executive, reflecting/ reinforcing the unequal resources/power in society
Dependence	Power dependence, involving evolving (and open) Exchange Relations	Power dependence, involving asymmetric exchange relations	Power dependence, asymmetric relations which reflect past power struggles
Relations	Intergovernmental relations	Intergovernmental relations	Intergovernmental relations
Traditions	Contested, and contesting, political traditions [UK: 4; Scotland: 5]	A dominant political tradition, with increasing contestations	Dominant, increasingly contested, discourse about economic, social, political values/ organisation
Inequalities	Fluctuating and constantly renegotiated inequalities depending on the balance of resource and power	Structured inequality in Society	Inequalities - the outcomes of past strategic struggles; no level playing field
Balance of Power	Pluralism; fluctuating and constantly renegotiated power	Asymmetries of Power	Asymmetries of Power which reflect past struggles

Source: Developed from Marsh, D. (2011), *The New Orthodoxy: The Differentiated Polity Model* in *Public Administration 89*(1), pp.32-48.

As Interpretivist and Critical Realist theories are increasingly subjected to rigour and scrutiny (which, I suggest, was not applied to governance in phases one or two), this 'third phase' of governance may engender genuine progress in the analysis and employment of governance theory. However, other theorists are increasingly contributing to the analysis of governance. Drawing on wider thinking (e.g. Kooiman, 2003; Moench & Dixit, 2004; Peters *et al.*, 2004; Pierre & Peters, 2005) which examines governance of complex societies and governance in situations of unpredictability or rapid and irreversible change (paralleling chaos theory), Duit and Galaz (2008) have potentially deepened the analysis of governance, bringing Complex Adaptive Systems theory into the governance debate to consider the adaptive capacity of network (and other) governance systems in linear and non-linear situations. They have linked this with multilevel governance systems (Schakel, Hooghe & Marks, 2012), adding March's (1991) concepts of exploitation (refinement, choice, efficiency, implementation) and exploration (learning, experimentation, self-analysis) to develop a taxonomy of governance types - from rigid to fragile – defining the nature of governance based on the extent of exploitation and exploration. Within their taxonomy, Duit and Galaz would consider hierarchical state governance to be *rigid* with poor information flows and a limited ability for learning and would see network governance as *flexible* but sometimes lacking the means to carry out developments.

Alongside these developments, Rhodes' and Bevir's views (Marcussen & Torfing, 2007; Marsh, 2011; Parker, 2007; Stoker, 2000) and governance theory itself (Christopoulos, 2008; Duggett, 2009; Esmark, 2009; Lee, 2003) are being re-evaluated with some (e.g. Esmark, 2009) suggesting that governance itself may be superseded and others (e.g. Duggett, 2009) taking a revisionist view of hierarchies: 'the Westminster system, and the British version of that in particular, is back and is here to stay for the immediate future at least' (Duggett, 2009, p.2). These developments are paralleled by examinations of issues related to the impact of governance on democracy (Bekkers *et al.*, 2007; Fenger & Bekkers, 2007; Kooiman, 2003; Mayntz, 2003;), the effectiveness of governance (Jessop, 2003) and the legitimacy of governance (Kjaer, 2004).

2.2.6 Structure, Agency and Culture

> If enough people or even a few people who are powerful enough to act in innovative ways, their action may have the consequence of transforming the very structures that gave them the capacity to act.
>
> (Sewell, 1992, p.4)

The study of structure and agency, along with the linked concept of culture and their interrelations (Hays, 1994), is central to much of social research (Sewell, 1992; Weik, 2006), generating debate amongst philosophers (e.g. Heidegger, 1977 (as quoted by Weik, 2006); Whitehead, 1985, 1993), organisational theorists (e.g. Foucault, 1977, 1978; Giddens, 1984; March & Olsen, 1975, 1989, 2005; McKelvey, 1997) and, with particular relevance to

this study, governance theorists (see Section 2.2 in the sub-section on heterarchical governance) .

Succinctly, there are five main approaches in considering structure and agency. These occupy a spectrum (emphasising structure and agency at opposite ends) from Structuralism, through Structuration Theory, Critical Realism and Intentionalism to Interpretivism. All have their champions and critics but all have been important in examining this fundamental dichotomy of governance. The external, macro-level, pro-structure (and largely Marxist) approach of Structuralism and the internal, micro-level, pro-agency approach of Intentionalism have both been heavily criticized as narrow, narrow-minded and lacking understanding of society (e.g. Campbell, 1999) and are not further considered within this study for these reasons. The third, Structuration, is largely based on the work of Anthony Giddens (e.g. 1976, 1981). By circumventing the structure-agency and micro-macro dichotomies and focusing on actors, actions, institutions, systems and structures - with a particular focus on the mutual interdependence of agency and structure - Giddens sees agency creating structures while structures simultaneously facilitate and constrain agency. Structuration has also been subject to serious criticism (e.g. Gregson, 1989; Hay 1995) of its theoretical validity and its utility, although some ‘educational management’ researchers have supported this approach.

I have previously discussed the two remaining philosophical approaches to structure and agency as they underpin the stances of the two principal governance groups: the Interpretivists and the (Critical) Realists. Epistemologically, Interpretivism, built on the work of Weber (e.g. Weber, 1922) and Simmel (Levine, 1971), embodies the view that knowledge (here, the structure of governance) is not absolute, but rather a matter for individual interpretation. Interpretivists perceive 'reality' as multi-layered and complex, individuals as creators of multiple interpretations of a given event (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Garfinkel, 1967) and structures as being constantly recreated from the actions of individuals. Critics of Interpretivism (e.g. Bernstein, 1974) suggest that the positivism/anti-positivism pendulum has now swung too far away from objectivity towards personal meanings negotiated by participating actors. He suggests (Bernstein, 1974) that, when individuals interpret and define a situation, their analytical processes are themselves products of the situation in which the individuals find themselves. Cohen *et al.* (2011) also suggest that there are asymmetries in many such situations due to the distribution of power in a given context and the ability of some more powerful actors to impose their construction of situations or structures upon others.

Like Structuration, Critical Realism - largely based on the work of Bhasker (e.g. 1975, 1989) - embraces both agency and structure but is more suitable for use in social research. Critical Realism abandons positivist, scientific approaches for qualitative methods (Bhasker, 1989). Although originally

Marxist in stance, Critical Realism is often applied in a largely 'Marx-free' manner (e.g. Jessop, 2003, 2004; but Jessop's earlier work had a Marxist basis). Bhasker's Four Models (Bhasker, 1989) are key to Critical Realism, culminating in the Transformational Model (Model IV) which asserts that society provides a pre-existing framework for agency and the voluntarist/interpretivist approach is thus flawed. However, it rejects reification of structure, acknowledging that society may only be developed or amended through the agency of individuals and groups. Hays (1994) framed effective contexts and rules for the application of Critical Realism. However, Critical Realism is not without flaws as it is held by some (e.g. Magill, 1994) to lack balance and to be judgmental and driven by specific (often Marxist) values, rather than open and exploratory. However, Critical Realism clearly offers a potential insight into macro/meso-level governance.

Structure is an essential component of social scientific analysis of topics such as governance but, as Sewell suggests, is 'nearly impossible to define' (1992, p. 1). Giddens consistently suggested structures must be seen as 'dual' (1976, 1979, 1984). Sewell (1992, p.4) also quotes Giddens' 1981 work (p.27) in defining 'dual' as 'both the medium and the outcome of the practices which constitute social systems. This implies, as Giddens suggests, that 'structures must not be conceptualized as simply placing constraints on human agency, but as enabling' (Giddens, 1976, p.161). Inevitably, some description of 'concrete' governance structures will take place in Chapters 4 to 6 as I identify

the key groupings and mechanisms through which Scottish education (and MFL in particular) is led, managed, evaluated and developed. However, the ideas of Sewell, Giddens and Hays and of both main groups of governance theorists all lead one to consider the interplay of governance structures, actors and groups. That does not imply that this study will fall into the Interpretivist camp, seeing governance structure, as do Bevir and Rhodes, as 'the social construction of patterns of rule through the ability of individuals to create meanings in action.' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2010, p. 91). Perhaps it is easier, as Sewell (1992) and Hays (1994) do, to see structures as 'the patterns that order social life' (Hays, 1994, p.57), although such a definition is clearly open to some interpretation and debate.

If structure is subject to multiple meanings and interpretations, then agency is perhaps even more so. Barker (2005, p.448), for example, defines agency as the capacity of individuals to act independently and make their own free choices. Some philosophical visualisations of agency see it as an inherently unstructured element of social life, others as limited to, and driven by, individual choice, while a further group would define agency as embracing all aspects of human action. Sociologists would see agency as the way in which people actively choose from a large range of possible behaviours and sets of actions within those behaviours, the idea being that individuals are not robots conditioned by society and its structures to act in certain ways. Hays (1994) offers a spectrum of possible descriptions of agency, ranging from one extreme where agents are mere instruments of social structures, through

situations where ‘people make structures at the same time as structures make people’ (*ibid.*, p.62) to situations where ‘agents … make choices that have transformational consequences in terms of the nature of social structures’ (*ibid.*, p.62) to the other end of the spectrum where people are in complete control of the social world. The ends of the spectrum may be safely eliminated as one implies a complete lack of individual or grouped agency and the other a complete lack of structure in any form other than the fleeting *gestalt* of many individual actions without form or continued existence. What actually happens appears to lie somewhere between Hays’ two central options: agency and structures are mutually influential – the actions of governance actors can (and do) modify structures, but not necessarily constantly or instantaneously, whilst the current, but evolving, structures shape, constrain and support agency.

Culture is also complex to define. As Hays (1994) suggests:

> while some theorists (especially anthropologists) treat culture as *the* structure ordering social life … many others treat culture as something *distinct* from social ‘structure’. Often connected to this separation of culture and social structure is a tendency to link culture to agency … (p.58).

Hays herself sees culture as:

> a social, durable, layered pattern of cognative and normative systems that are at oncematerial and ideal, objective and subjective, embodied in artifacts and embodied in behavior, passed about in interaction, internalized in personalities and internalized in institutions (*ibid.*, p.65).
>
> In effect, culture, like structure is both enabling and constraining.

From these theoretical insights, I deduce that it is difficult to separate structure, agency and the culture(s) within which agency happens and structures develop because of the inherent interconnectedness of the three but that it would be unwise to assume that one aspect dominates the others. My approach to governance, therefore, will be to consider structures and cultures as both constraining and enabling agency and to see them as dynamic and evolving, providing conduits for governance and being themselves transformed by governance actions. Sewell (1992, p.4) suggests actors are capable of 'putting their structurally formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways', suggesting that 'if enough people or even a few people who are powerful enough to act in innovative ways, their action may have the consequence of transforming the very structures that gave them the capacity to act'. Thus, structures are the offspring of processes, and not simply objects or 'institutions' (Geertz, 1973; Gusfield, 1981, both quoted by Hayes, 1994, p.58). These views are supported by several of my interviewees (e.g. M0001, M0022, M0026, M0027, M0050 and M0081) who, possibly unknowingly, have elaborated on Giddens', Hays' and/or Sewell's views, offering specific examples of the impact of individual and group agency, or of culture, on structure and of the constraining effects of structures on the ability of individuals to improve learning. These are given detailed consideration in Chapter 5 which further considers agency and the cultures (and actors' assumptive worlds) within which agency is embedded.

2.2.7 Issues in Applying Governance Theory

I have identified a range of analytical insights and tools, including an understanding of the development of, and major viewpoints in, governance theory, a range of definitions of governance, an understanding of the relative importance of hierarchies, markets and networks, an awareness of the utility of single- or multi-level governance models), a set of tools to test quality of governance through the concepts of 'good' governance, Complex Adaptive Systems and the elements of Table 2.2, and an understanding of issues which may appear within the study of governance. Two questions, however, require further consideration in investigating educational governance:

Which definition?

> The problem is that it is difficult …to conceive of anything involving government, politics, or administration that is not governance.
>
> (Frederickson, 2004, p.9)

I have examined the theoretical origins, differing models and multiple definitions of governance. Even individual governance authors (e.g. Jessop 1998; Kjaer 2004; Stoker 1998) offer multiple definitions: Bevir and Rhodes offered six but now describe seven (2003, pp.45-49) definitions of (or, rather, contexts for) governance. Whilst each of these contexts is useful in framing MFL governance developments in Scotland, I adopt as a general definition the public service definition provided by Lynn *et al.* (2005) who see governance as the 'regimes, laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goals and

services'. However, I also accept Jessop's 'relatively narrow' (Jessop, 2003) definition which sees governance as: 'the reflexive self-organisation of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal inter-dependence, with such self-organisation being based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations' as a tool to examine the detailed workings of governance. Together these provide a realistic definition of educational governance.

Which Governance Model?

As identified earlier, current governance debate places Rhodes and Bevir, Ball *et al.* in contention with Marsh, Jessop, Fawcett, MacAnulla and their respective associates and with the new approaches emerging from, for example, Duit and Galaz. I argue that all camps possess meaningful insights into the workings of governance but that none has a monopoly on wisdom. I therefore carry forward Table 2.2 defining the nature of various forms of governance along with the specifics of the Asymmetric Power Model, the Metagovernance approach, *dezentrierte steuerung* and the Complex Adaptive Systems model, as models against which the nature of Scottish educational governance may be tested. I also take forward Frederickson's (2004) general definition of good governance (as in efficiency, transparency, meritocracy, and equity), rather than Agere's (2000) more specialized, transnational approach to anti-corruption and quantitative analysis of government actions, as a further benchmark of the quality of Scottish educational governance.

2.3 Governance of Education

> The transformation of the public sector involves ‘less government’ (or less rowing) but “more governance” (or more steering).
>
> (Rhodes 1996, p.655)

In this section, I review educational governance and the thoughts of leading educational governance researchers, also considering issues regarding the use of governance theory as a tool in this field. I argue that (a) hierarchy, markets and networks provide only a *basis* for the analysis of educational governance during the period concerned, (b) governance modelling beyond hierarchy, market and network has not been systematically applied to educational governance and (c) that Scottish educational governance has not had the same breadth or depth of analysis as in England and Wales, particularly in terms of detailed analysis of the actors, actions, processes, structures, successes and weaknesses of the governance of education in Scotland.

The educational governance debate lags behind the ‘turns’ of the wider governance debate. Several theoretical stances are apparent within research on educational governance: institutionalists, positivist researchers (‘inspectorial’ and academic), policy sociologists, network theorists and, to a currently limited extent, anti-foundationalists and de-centring interpretivists. Kogan (1971, 1978, 1985) pioneered the political/sociological analysis of education policy and practice. Raab (1992, 1994), Ball (1990), Dale (1992, 1994) and Troyna (1994) led the development of 'education policy

sociology'. Ball researched (1993a, 1993b) institutions, policy and governance, turning to policy sociology and ethnography (1990, 1994a, 2001) before adopting Rhodes' approach to become *the* educational network governance specialist (2007, 2009a, 2009b; with Junemann, 2012). Lynn, Heinrich and Hill (2001) re-examined empirical governance research, critiquing governance research methodology and seeking, with some success, to establish a stronger conceptual framework for educational governance research. Ozga developed a feminist approach to the analysis of educational governance as well as making significant contributions to the wider examination of educational policy and governance (e.g. Arnott & Ozga, 2009; Grek & Ozga, 2010; McNay & Ozga, 1985; Ozga & Lingard, 2007). When educational research turned from largely positivist, empirical or merely descriptive studies, prompted by Hargreaves (1985) and McNay and Ozga (1985), the move to policy sociology saw an enhancement of research methodology by virtually all of the key researchers, including the development of expertise in interviewing key governance actors (Ball, 1994b; Kogan, 1971; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Ozga 1987; Ozga & Gewirtz, 1994; Walford, 1994) in order to add the processes of governance and the role of agency to previous descriptive work on structures.

It would be surprising to find an educational governance theorist, even Duggett (2009), who would contend that purely hierarchical processes govern public service provision today. The standard motifs are again the state-market dualism of the Thatcher government (e.g. Ball, 2000, 2007, 2009b) and,

largely unchanged, of New Labour (e.g. Ball, 2008; Bache, 2003; Clarke, Gewirtz & McLaughlin, 2000; Fergusson, 2000; Fusarelli & Johnson, 2004; Martin & Muschamp, 2008; Ozga, 2000), followed by the claimed emergence of network governance as the predominant mode (Ball, 2009c; Ball & Junemann, 2012).

Privatisation, consumer choice and marketisation have the same place in educational governance as in governance: the neo-liberal drive of the Thatcher government (Ball, 1990), the Education Reform Act of 1988 (for example, Ball, 1994a; Dale, 1994, Halpin & Troyna, 1994), the tensions/benefits in the relationships among the state, bureaucrats, local authorities and external providers of educational services (Ball, 2009b; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Beukel, 2001; Campbell, 1999, 2000; Hartley, 2007; Meier & Hill, 2005), as well as their customers (Bolland & Redfield, 1988; Clarke *et al,.* 2007), the primacy of consumer choice (if suppliers are able and/or willing to supply the appropriate services) (Donahue, 2002, Teelken, 2000), along with 'hollowing out' issues related to globalisation and transnational government (Beukel, 2001; Dale, 1999; Hill, 2002; Lawn & Lingard, 2002; Lingard & Ozga, 2007, OECD, 2011; Ozga, 2011; UNESCO, 2005) and the impact of Scottish devolution (Alexiadou & Ozga, 2002; Arnott, 2007; Arnott & Ozga, 2009; Bryce & Humes, 2003, 2008) have all been the subject of significant analysis. In the UK educational governance context, Ball (2003, 2008) has spoken of a policy epidemic involving the market, managerialism and performativity, which he suggests is sweeping the world. He proposes that education is:

> now regarded primarily from an economic point of view. The social and economic purposes of education have been collapsed into a single overriding emphasis on policy making for economic competitiveness and an increasing neglect or sidelining (other than in rhetoric) of the social purposes of education.
>
> (Ball, 2008, pp. 11-12)

and these views are inevitably reinforced by Jim Callaghan's utterances at Ruskin College in 1976, widely seen as an attempt to end the post-war consensus and as apparently preparing the ground for NPM. Bevir and O'Brien (2001), however, argue that New Labour moved from the Thatcherian regime of parental choice and rigorous (and vigorous) performability through inspection and school 'league tables' to a position where citizens are encouraged to be stakeholders whose role is facilitated by public services being required to provide them with the appropriate breadth and depth of information to carry out their roles and, in particular, to exercise choice as consumers. As Teelken (2000) suggests, 'choice will only be beneficial if the producers of education are able [and willing] to respond to consumer choice' (p.21).

Almost uniquely, Ozga (1999, 2000, 2002; also with Alexiadou, 2002) used the neo-liberal phase to compare Scottish and English educational governance, interviewing key governance actors and finding that significant differences had arisen, largely as a result of devolution, in the 'local' interpretations of the New Labour educational modernisation project on opposite sides of the border. Alexiadou and Ozga (2002) identified emerging policy networks and examined their interrelations, overlap and conflict with

existing ‘assumptive worlds’ (McPherson & Raab, 1988) and institutional relations. Both Ozga and Gewirtz (1994) and Jones (1999) identified a policy elite in England, examining their assumptions about ‘culture, ability and difference’ (Alexiadou & Ozga, 2002, pp.677-8). However, north of the border Alexiadou & Ozga concurred with McPherson and Raab (1988) that the ‘shaping myths’ and ‘assumptive worlds’ of Scottish policy makers pointed to a more collegial ‘policy community’ (1988), rather than a policy elite, although this is disputed by Humes (1986) who sees a self-serving policy ‘elite’ as hindering, rather than leading, Scottish education. Along with governance structures, as rehearsed in the previous section, this is a key area as governance groups and individual actors, with their beliefs and interactions and the structures within which they operate, together form the framework for governance. As identified in Section 3.1, the present author has almost twenty years’ ‘insider perspective’ of strategic leadership of the Higher Still (1990s), Curriculum Flexibility (early 2000s), Curriculum for Excellence (mid 2000s to date) and the Chinese aspect of MFL initiatives (mid 2000s to date) which would provide evidence for either McPherson, Raab and Ozga’s or Humes’ cases, depending on the initiative, the controlling organisations and the individual actors concerned, thus raising issues of continuity and of the balance of structure, organisation and agency (Hay, 1995; Hays, 1994).

Educational networks have been considered within a growing body of research, but almost entirely within England and Wales. The arrival of New Labour in 1997, followed by New Public Management (Bache 2003; Hill 2002),

'the education modernization project' (Martin & Muschamp, 2008; Ozga, 2002), 'new philanthropy' (Ball & Junemann, 2012) and continuing comparisons with the Thatcher/Major governments have been stimuli for educational research, some of which has shed light on governance. The structures, processes and key agents of networked educational governance have been closely examined (e.g. Ball, 2009b; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Parker, 2007; Raab, 1992) but there has as yet been little application (save Ball & Junemann, 2012) of Bevir and Rhodes' latest approach and no evidence of the consideration of competing governance approaches/models (e.g. APM, Complex Adaptive Systems, Metagovernance) with respect to educational governance. There is also a significant absence of recent analysis of the interactions among national and local politicians and bureaucrats, particularly in Scotland (with honourable exceptions in Aitken, 2008; Bloomer, 1999, 2013; Jeyes, 2003; Lennon, 2003) or of consideration of multi-level governance (Beukel, 2001).

Given the pivotal roles of local governance actors and structures – including council corporate management teams, education directorates, school management teams and faculty/department teams – neither local governance nor its national/school linkages have been researched to an appropriate extent, although more has been done in England (e.g. Nicholson, 2009; Parish, Baxter & Sandals, 2012; Pierre & Peters, 2000; Radnor & Ball, 1996; Radnor, Ball & Vincent, 1998), with little in Scotland save for some studies of Local Government re-organisation and DSM (Arnott & Munn, 1994; Campbell,

1999, 2000), the relevant chapters of Bryce & Humes (1998, 2003, 2008, 2013) and Paterson (2003) and as case studies in the implementation of curricular initiatives such as Higher Still (Raffe, Howieson & Tinklin, 2001, 2007) and Curriculum for Excellence (Priestley, 2010; Priestley & Minty, 2012). I suggest that general models of governance largely fail to recognise the complexity and variations inherent in local and school implementation of national or regional policy, the assumptive worlds of key governance actors at different levels of governance, the nature of institutional cultures or the impact of individual/grouped agency by the powerful (McPherson & Raab, 1988), especially in a small educational system such as Scotland. The varying skills, attributes and personalities of local actors – councillors, chief executives, directors, headteachers, faculty heads and teachers – suggest that change will be actualised differently in different settings and that the relations between the different levels of governance are significant and should be explored. As Bowe and Ball (1992) state, 'institutional cultures do play a part in the moulding and selection' (p.164) of approaches to the implementation of specific policy initiatives. Imposition of timescales, budgets and staffing levels also generate constraints upon the effectiveness of governance at various levels (Campbell, 2000). Local decision-making has been seen as subjective and/or ambiguous (Bullock & Thomas, 1997; Levacic, 1995), or falling back on 'professional judgement' or the actors' prior assumptive frameworks but open, participative and responsive governance (particularly in response to (sadly) more peripheral governance actors such as pupils or parents) appears to be seldom realized (Adler, Petch & Tweedie, 1989).

Beyond these contexts, some relevant research is evident. Bowe and Ball (1992, pp.140-141) consider uncertainty and the complexity of change processes which may create 'dilemmas and contradictions' and may inhibit attempts at rational governance based on clear, pre-agreed goals and predictable outcomes. They suggest that a high pace of change may also result in 'ad hoc' management practices or crisis management (1992, p. 165-166). The consequence, they suggest, is the phenomenon of 'innovation overload' (1992, p. 169), making rational, sequential or cyclical management difficult to achieve. As Levacic (1995) argues, greater stability in societal, political and policy environments is necessary if improved governance and a rational approach are to be achieved. There is also a body of research on policy, planning and implementation, linked with the continuing/changing role of the state (Codd, 1988; Gale, 2007; Hogan, 2000; Raab, 1990, 1992, 1994b; Wise, 1984) and some related writings on leadership, corporate governance of education and control (Gunter, 2001; Hanson, 1978; Hartley, 2007; Queensland Govt., 2011). Since the coming of the Major and Blair governments and their drives for central standard setting, inspection, accountability and quality assurance (6 & Peck, 2004), there has also been sustained analysis of the 'what works' approach (Davies *et al,.* 2000; Hodkinson, 2008) and the 'scientization' (Grek & Ozga, 2010) of governance (Croxford, Grek & Shaik, 2009; Gallacher, 2001; Grek & Ozga, 2010; Lingard & Ozga, 2007; Grek, 2008; Ozga *et. al.,* 2011). Lastly, there is an as yet unresolved debate on the extent of the impact of research on Tory, Blairite

and subsequent education policy makers (Griffiths, 2008; Lingard & Ozga, 2007; Luke, 2007; Ozga, 2004; Smith & Wexler, 1995), with some almost inevitable discussion of the challenges of separating the actuality of policy and implementation from ‘spin’ (Gewirtz, Dickson & Power, 2007).

2.4 Governance of Scottish Education

In reviewing the governance structures, processes and actors of Scottish education, I concur with the consensus (Bryce & Humes, 1999, 2003, 2008, 2013; Humes, 1999; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Paterson, 1997, 2003; Raffe, 2004; Scotland, 1982) that Scottish education should generally be seen as distinct, structurally, institutionally, administratively and in terms of policy, from that in the rest of Britain. I suggest that, supported only by a relatively small, predominantly Scottish-written body of research (with some valuable external contributions from several English-based academics, some with strong Scottish connections), it is more straightforward to analyse the leading thinkers and key propositions than in the wider UK situation, wherein a large body of academic thought generated a body of research on educational governance. I argue that (a) Scottish educational governance has not had the same breadth or depth of analysis as in England and Wales and (b) educational governance research in Scotland follows, but lags behind, the wider field of educational governance and so generally falls well behind mainstream governance theory.

2.4.1 The Historical Context

Before outlining key issues and thinkers, I summarise the context of Scottish education to establish differences in origins, legal status, systems and practices from the rest of the United Kingdom, as well as the distinctive Scottish political, religious, legal and educational culture and identity.

Completely independent until 1603 and politically independent until the Union of Parliaments in 1707, Scotland regained some self-determination with devolution in 1999 and currently faces a referendum on independence. The Act of Union maintained Scottish 'local autonomy' (Parry 1987, Anderson 2008) in religion, law and education, although this was ill-defined and so, with hindsight, the period since 1707 might appear to resemble an (unstructured) campaign for the return of local control, as frequent Scottish demands were (partially, but never fully) assuaged by the repeated creation of Scottish systems and processes, including the creation of the Scottish Office in 1885 (in London, but relocated to Edinburgh in 1939), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Scottish education (located in Scotland from 1840), the Scotch (*sic*) Education Department in 1872, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board in 1961, the General Teaching Council in 1965, devolved government in 1999 and the creation of the role of Cabinet Secretary for Education in 2007. The educational role of religion in Scottish education has been markedly different from the rest of the UK, with strong involvement stretching from Knox's advocacy of universal elementary education in the First Book of Discipline (1560), through the parish school system to the integration of Free Church and Catholic schools (McPherson & Raab, 1988). Legally, Scots Law remains based on Roman law and is thus different from that practised in the rest of the UK, although UK-wide political moves often require the enactment of parallel legal instruments in Scotland and England.

Although Scottish educational policy and governance developed separately, before and after the Act of Union, there is also a theme of 'British experience realised in a particular Scottish form' (McPherson & Raab, 1988) running through academic writing on Scottish education during the period from 1962 to 2012. McPherson and Raab's best-known work (1988), a seminal text which continues to influence research (including this), repeatedly suggest that many post-war aspects of continuity and change have been common to both Scotland and England and note the significance of the similarity and parallel timing of policy development and implementation across the UK. However, their research was largely carried out in the 1970s, was focused on the 'policy community' and examined neither the developments of the 1980s nor the 'meso' level of school and Council policy-making, implementation or assumptive frameworks. The political/societal changes occurring since their study have been seen by commentators (e.g. Alexiadou & Ozga, 2002; Arnott, 2007; Arnott & Munn, 1994; Clark & Munn, 1997; Humes, 2008; Humes & McKenzie, 1994; Ozga, 2002) to have generated 'resistance' and possibly hastened the drive for greater local autonomy. For example, the appearance of England & Wales legislation containing sections affecting Scotland (e.g. the Education Reform Act, 1988), local government reorganization, devolved school management, the attempted development of consumer-led education (and, beyond education, the poll tax) under Thatcher/Forsyth, along with the complexities of attempting to introduce New Labour's 'modernisation project' into a Scotland which resisted being dragged away from its defining 'myth' (McPherson & Raab, 1988) of 'the lad o' pairts' and universal, democratic,

egalitarian education, have all led to significant controversy in Scotland and have added significant fuel to the Labour/Liberal(/Tory) – SNP debates on the future of Scotland. The resulting constant change, with the potential for 'innovation overload' (Bowe & Ball, 1992), has been a major and periodically predominating factor in Scottish education during the timeframe of this study. Table 2.3 highlights the major developments in Scotland:

Table 2.3 Major Curricular/Assessment Initiatives in Scotland 1962-2013[1]

Initiative	Timescale	Pupils Affected	Key Agencies	Policy Documents
Development and implementation of O Grade and H Grade	1960-66	S3-S6 [2]	SEB [4]	SEB course specifications
First MLPS [4] project (French only)	1964-77	P6-P7	SED [4], EAs [4]	None?
Munn & Dunning reviews	1974-83	S3-S4	SED, SCCC, HMI [3]	Munn Report (SED 1977a), Dunning Report (SED 1977b), Framework for Decision (SED 1982)
Development and implementation of 5-14	1987-00	P1-S2	HMI, SED, SCCC	Curriculum and Assessment for the 90s(SED 1987); 5-14 - A Practical Guide; Achieving Success in S1/S2; 5-14 subject guidelines
Development and implementation of the second MLPS project	1988-02	P6-7 but P5 and P4 in some schools	SED, SCCC, HMI	Primary Memorandum [5], revised 5-14 Modern Languages guidelines
Development and implementation of Standard Grade	1986-91	S3-S4	SED, SCCC, SEB	Standard Grade – Setting New Standards for All Pupils (SED 1988); SEB course specifications

Development and implementation of the Higher Still Initiative and National Qualifications	1991-01	(S3-)S5-6	HSDU [6], HMI, LTS [3],	The Howie Report (SOED 1992a); Higher Still: Opportunity For All (SOED 1992b); SQA course specifications
Development of the Curriculum Flexibility Initiative	2000-03	S3-S6	SEED [31], HMI,	Curricular Flexibility: Emerging Practice (SEED 2001c); Circular 3/2001 (SEED 2001b)
Development and implementation of Curriculum for Excellence	2002-16	(Pre) P1 - S6	SEED, LTS, Education Scotland, HMIe, EAs	A Curriculum for Excellence (Scottish Executive 2004); the Building the Curriculum series; the Education Scotland website
Development of the '1+2' modern foreign language programme	2011-??	P3 (?) –S6	Scottish Government, Working Party	'1+2' Report [7] (Scottish Government 2012)

Key:

1) See Table 6.2 for alignment with key political, inspectorial and research events
2) E.g. P3: Primary Year Three; S3: Secondary Year Three
3) HMI/HMIe, LTS , SCCC, SEB, SED/SEED
4) EA: Education Authority
5) The Primary Memorandum is the name usually used as a shorthand form of the SED (1965) publication, 'Primary Education in Scotland'.
6) HSDU: the Higher Still Development Unit
7) The '1+2' Report is the shorthand form of the Scottish Government Languages Working Group (2012) publication, 'Language Learning in Scotland: A 1 + 2 Approach'

2.4.2 Governance – Research and Nature of Governance

Set against these political, administrative, cultural and educational changes, I review the governance of Scottish education. There has been much less attention paid to the nature of governance in Scotland, whether hierarchy, market or network.

Papers authored beyond these isles seldom talk of 'UK education' and then differentiate between events north and south of the border. Yet Scottish education *is* different: it had a very different genesis, is small enough to quite like centralisation (*if* it produces acceptable solutions (McPherson & Raab, 1988)), has used its 'autonomy' to largely resist attempts to force consumer choice and marketization into the equation (Paterson, 2003), is now a very different beast from the southern model (Bryce & Humes, 2008) and is seemingly set in an increasingly different society (Ozga, 2002). As Paterson (1997) says, 'the idea that the United Kingdom was a unitary state with one policy process becomes untenable' (p. 141). However, a referendum on independence notwithstanding, I also concur with Paterson (*ibid*., p. 140) that 'rational pragmatism' rather than 'sentiment' is generally the basis of Scottish thought and action. Despite the massive, and continuing, rejection of all that Thatcherism/Forsythism attempted to introduce, the fundamental Scottish educational stance is of 'negotiated autonomy' (*ibid*., p.138) with respect to the wishes of Westminster *and* Holyrood governments.

Although the political continuity apparent from Tory to Labour regimes in the Governance and Educational Governance sections of this literature review *appears* to be genuine, things changed rapidly ibefore and after devolution in an increasingly divergent Scotland as the key elements of the market – on the supply side: size of the private education sector, diversity of provision across private and state schools, extent of LEA control of schools, headteacher control of key 'marketising levers' (e.g. control of per capita funding, pupil selection criteria, staff appointments and promoted structures) and devolved school management (DSM/LMS); on the demand side: parental choice of schools (both private/state and catchment/non-catchment) and of courses - have diverged significantly north and south of the border and this pattern has accelerated since the late 1980s and, particularly, since devolution (see Section 4.1.2, Uniqueness in a UK Context).

In Scotland, the supply side aspects of the market are radically different from those in England. As Willms (1997) said, Scotland's schooling system is 'arguably more uniform than most schooling systems in Europe and North America' (p.2), largely because of the virtual monopoly of one type of school, the standardisation inherent in national curricular guidelines and the lack of choice in rural and semi-rural areas. In Scotland, the private sector was always very small (Grek, Ozga and Lawn, 1999, p.9; Paterson, 2003, p. 141) with only around 4% of the Scottish pupil population in private education (Paterson, 2003, p.141) and the grant-maintained sector faded after 1965 (*ibid.*, pp. 140-141). Although the opportunity (if financially able) to pay for

private education always existed, it was largely available to the citizens of Edinburgh, to a much lesser extent in Glasgow and only on a very limited basis beyond the two major conurbations. However, only comparatively recently have parents been able to attempt to choose a state school other than that which serves the immediate area in which they live. Scottish primary-secondary transfer was based on selection criteria which allocated pupils to a 'junior' secondary school (for the less able) or 'senior' secondary school (for those potentially proceeding to university or perhaps college) until some time between the mid Sixties and mid Seventies (as comprehensive schools were introduced at differing rates both across and within local authorities). The basis of primary-secondary transfer after comprehensivisation was that pupils would attend their 'local' secondary school (although in some circumstances this was *not* the nearest school) with exceptions made for pupils whose parents sought denominational education. This changed under the Thatcher government with the 1981 Education (Scotland) Act (UK government, 1981) providing parents with a statutory right to request places for their children in schools outside their designated areas. Consistently, only around 10% of Scottish parents exercise these rights, largely in urban areas.

As will be seen in chapter 4, schooling is the responsibility of Scottish local authorities, although the predominant view of commentators (e.g. Bloomer, 1999) is that local authorities *theoretically* have the freedom to manage a local system of education but, realistically, are obliged to conform to a national

agenda by a combination of national political control, the Scottish Qualifications Authority's qualifications monopoly, the inspection regime and, until recently, national curricular guidelines and ring-fenced funding, leaving them with little room for manoeuvre. Schools and headteachers have similar issues, lacking some or all of the aspects of control of finance, admission criteria, exclusions, staff appointments and promoted post structures experienced by their counterparts in England and Wales. Until 2000/2001 they also lacked control of the curriculum as national guidelines and local authority policy circumscribed their ability to control this until the repeal of the last national curricular guidelines in 2000 and the appearance of Circular 3/2001 (SEED, 2001b) which enhanced their local control. However, since 2001, a significant number of headteachers in Scotland have amended their curricula to meet 'local needs', as Circular 3/2001 allows. Evidence from course choice structures examined during the Internet survey of schools described in Chapter 1 (see Appendix 1) suggests that this can either enhance or limit the supply of curricular choice for pupils and parents, depending upon how it is carried out.

Thus, the demand side of a Scottish educational market for parents is inevitably circumscribed a) by the ability and willingness of providers to offer significant choice and b) by parents' ability and willingness to accept the choices offered and/or to campaign for further choices. As we have seen, private education is an option for very few Scottish pupils, either because of prohibitive cost, geographical non-availability or parental unwillingness to

depart from a state system which has been widely supported by Scottish civic society (see Section 4.1, Uniqueness in a UK Context). Likewise, parental choice of school has not proved to be popular and the Forsyth 'opting out' option limited to 2 schools (both of which quickly returned to state control). Teelken (2000, p.23) suggests that where parental choice of schools is made, it is for a school with higher Social Economic Status than the catchment school. It is by no means guaranteed in Scotland, given the geography and the socio-economic distribution of the population, that such a school will be readily available to a significant number of parents.

This leaves the choice of courses, itself both a further expression of market demand and also a factor controlled by schools and, previously, by local authorities. In this sub-section on Market Governance we have seen that until some time between 1965 and 1975, a significant tranche of pupils were consigned to junior secondary schools where no parental choice for or against MFLs could be made. In senior secondaries, MFLs were an elite choice and were at their most popular during this phase of the period considered by this study (see Figures 2.1, 2.2, 6.1, 6.2 and Appendices 16-19). During the period of ROSLA and Comprehensivisation, pupils of all abilities voted against taking MFLs for reasons which the research (e.g. McPake *et al.*, 1999) suggests were complex and not solely driven by choice. After 1987, Michael Forsyth introduced national curricular guidelines and Scottish Office circulars (1178 and 1187) requiring all learners to study an MFL for a much more sustained period. Only after 2001 did choice return, not driven by national

legislation (as national figures reiterated the Forsythian “Languages for All’ doctrine during this period (see Section 6.3)) but by headteachers’ localised variation of curricular provision, thus either promoting MFLs to parents, providing an open choice or limiting MFL choices to few or very few. Teelken (2000) quotes Echols and Willms (1995, p.14) in suggesting that, in Scotland, ‘those who envisage an educational market place that parallels the free-market model may be disappointed’ (p.23). I therefore suggest that, although aspects of hierarchy and heterarchy are apparent, market forms of governance are not a key driving force for governance in Scotland during the timescale of this study.

2.4.3 Scottish Educational Governance: Layers, Actors and Agency

National Governance

There have been close, sometimes very close, working relations among the key governance actors in Scotland (e.g. Bryce & Humes, 1998, 2003, 2008; Humes & McKenzie, 1994; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Paterson, 2003), influencing both how policy has developed and the policy initiatives themselves (Humes & McKenzie, 1994; McPherson & Raab, 1988). Others (Gillies, 2008; Humes, 1986; Jeyes, 2003; Lennon, 2003), however, have noted the internal tensions, contention and cross-agency conflicts arising from the planning, funding, development, implementation, evaluation and training associated with the development and implementation of educational policy, or

from the ability of individual actors to significantly influence developments or 'exercise power' (Humes, 2008, p. 69). Lawrie's (2007) comments that:

> firstly, Scottish governments have their own ideas of what they want from Scottish education, and assessment in particular; secondly, we keep changing our perception of how education works and therefore should be measured; and finally, politics, the national culture, the traditional valued practices and established traditions all collide from time to time, with results which are at times unpredictable (p.116)

suggest that contention, conflicts and tensions are perhaps inevitable when policy, strategic governance and strategic development project(s) are nationally controlled, the actual governance of implementation lies with local government and there is still considerable leeway for individual schools, headteachers, managers and teachers not only to participate in governance but to radically influence learner pathways and outcomes. Inevitably, this leads to complex interrelationships, both among actors and across layers of governance. As Ball (1990, p. 3) suggests, this is 'unwieldy and complex' at best and 'unscientific and irrational' at worst. In reviewing these interrelationships, I begin by briefly examining key governance levels.

Twenty-four politicians (Hansard website - for 1988 to 2012; Historic Hansard website - for 1962 to1988; Scottish Government website - for 1999 to 2012) have served as minister (see Appendix 3) with responsibility for Education (although one of these is a second term of a previous incumbent) since 1962. This suggests the mean tenure of a minister for education is approximately 2.18 years, although there is one (significant, as it coincides with major MFL

issues,) period of six years wherein six different ministers (attempted to) exercise responsibility for education. Only three ministers have reached a 4-year tenure. This brevity of tenure and the associated potential for lack of continuity of political leadership appears to be a factor for consideration within this study.

Review of Westminster (Hansard websites, for 1962 to 1999) and Holyrood (Scottish Government website) records indicates that little Westminster time or debate was devoted to Scottish education before 1997 with few education bills considered and fewer reaching the statute book (UK Government, 1962, 1969, 1980, 1981, 1996): a stark contrast to the eight bills in the first eight years of the Scottish Parliament (Aitken, 2008, 153). Throughout the earlier period, little parliamentary mention of MFLs was made, except through concern for teacher supply (Hansard, 1973, 29 January) or as a small part of wider pan-curricular initiatives. Since devolution, however, Languages policy has been raised by successive Scottish governments whilst perceived weaknesses therein have been raised by all Scottish oppositions, particularly in the contexts of the 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' report (Ministerial Action Group on Languages, 2000; Scottish Executive, 2001), the current slump in MFLs and the ‘1 + 2’ Languages report and Ministerial Response (Scottish Government, 2012a, 2012b). Again, I argue that the consistency, or otherwise, of political debate and 'steering' and the extent of emphasis and effort, or ‘rowing’, invested in MFL are factors for consideration within this study.

Bureaucracy: The Civil Service

Ministers rely on civil servants for the development, implementation and review of education policy (Humes 2008), although much of the detail is carried through by quasi-autonomous agencies and implementation lies with local authorities. Until 1999, education was controlled by the Scottish Office, usually through a Minister of State and his/her team, although there have been periods when school education and lifelong learning have been split between two ministers (Bryce & Humes, 1999, 2008). Education is currently the responsibility of one of six overarching Directorates of the Scottish Government, the Learning and Justice Directorate, which is led by a Director, rather than either of the two relevant Cabinet Secretaries (Scottish Government website). Within this (large) Directorate are five departments, including Learning, Education Analytical Services and Employability, Skills and Lifelong Learning (Scottish Government website). School-based learning generally falls within the purview of the first of these but is supported/scrutinised by the second and has involvement with the third. All of these have subordinate structures which are only partially identifiable by documentary analysis but personal experience indicates that there *is* a 'Head of Curriculum Unit' who has responsibility for at least *most* of the curriculum and that, at a lower level, there are civil servants in several units with responsibility for projects which impinge on modern languages, although seeming to change periodically. All of these personnel interact with agencies (e.g. Education Scotland, SQA) and local authority representative bodies (e.g.

ADES, COSLA), though seldom with individual local authorities and almost never with schools. Civil servants are key governance actors who provide highly significant inputs (including authorship) to policy and who make many of the links of governance function (or not) but I argue that this system, and its predecessors, is opaque and unhelpful to effective leadership, communication, development, evaluation and thus governance. Their role (and quality of input) is an issue for further consideration.

Local Government

Significant change has occurred in local government (Aitken, 2008; Fairley, 1998; Jeyes, 2003), with two full restructures during the period considered (Campbell, 1999; Fairley, 1998): the appearance of regional authorities in the period from 1973 to 1975 and their replacement by unitary authorities, starting in 1996. A third change of national/local government relationships occurred with the arrival of a minority SNP government at Holyrood in 2007 and the 'Concordat' (which removed ring-fenced budgets) between the Scottish government and COSLA. These changes, and the varying educational structures and capacities of changed authorities, have impacted upon the key role of local authorities in implementing/modifying national policy. Education and local authorities were relatively divorced until 1975 but thereafter education became a more central, corporate issue for councils (Fairley, 1998) as education, singly or linked with recreation, became the major service of every council. For example, education was central to the tensions between the Thatcher/Major governments and Strathclyde Region. The

challenges/opportunities brought by the Concordat, illuminating the reliance of national governments for policy implementation on local government, non-governmental agencies and the third sector (Keating, 2005; McGarvey & Cairney, 2008), have also focused sharply on education budgets and developments.

The provision of support services and personnel, the extent of modification/avoidance (Aitken 2008) of national policy and the nature and effectiveness of quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) services are particular issues to be examined during the period concerned. Although Michael Forsyth felt that the 1996 restructuring would develop strong, responsive local councils, I suggest (with Fairley, 1998; McFadden, 1996; Midwinter, 1995) that these changes instead led to a differential loss of 'strategic capacity' in Scottish councils' education directorates due to (differentially) smaller council size, dilution of directorate teams, loss of subject advisers, narrowing of overview and diminished economies of scale. There is also an issue, given their different experience and expertise, of whether former regional councillors or former district councillors predominated in specific councils. This is thus an area for analysis within this study, not least in terms of the fluctuating capacity (in terms of policy-making, development, support, employment of appropriate staff, training and evaluation) of these primary implementers of national policy.

Schools

Schools have also experienced considerable change during the period of the study. Changes to senior/middle leadership and payment structures (from the Houghton report, via Main, Clegg, the Millennium Review and the McCrone report (SEED, 2001) to the 'facultisation' of school departments currently taking place), almost constant curricular change, corporatisation of council services (Aitken, 2008; Jeyes, 2003) and public accountability regimes (Grek & Ozga, 2009), along with the rise (and fall) of parental governance, fluctuating pupil numbers, ROSLA, comprehensivisation, devolved school management, the current financial crisis and the fluctuating influences of teacher unions have all made significant impacts, positive or negative, on MFL governance. In the end, local authority implementation of national initiatives depends upon effective leadership, planning, development, implementation and self-evaluation within and across schools. Thus, headteachers must play a highly significant role in ensuring that national and council policy is well-developed and well-implemented, and also that the school meets the needs of its pupils and its wider community – a role with significant potential for agency. Thus, schools and headteachers (and their colleagues) are also governance actors to be considered.

Agencies

During the rapid expansion of Scottish education from the 1960s to beyond the millennium, governments increasingly relied on agencies beyond the

central political pale for the development and implementation of policy (Humes, 2008). Curriculum, qualifications and inspection systems are closely linked to national government but do not operate through a unitary command and control structure, rather in an agency role. The curriculum was originally managed, to an extent, by the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC, later Scottish CCC), although it was always heavily influenced by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (McPherson & Raab, 1988). After the demise of SCCC, Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) assumed its mantle, generally working in association with HMIe (Boyd, 1994). HMIe wields significant power in Scottish education but has suffered recurring changes in status and influence. HMI (as was) started as a direct arm of government, was ejected after devolution but, since its merger with LTS to form Education Scotland, is apparently again 'inside'. These agencies have generally established *ad hoc* national working parties to carry out curricular development and this has generally been both inclusive and successful, although several of the initiatives listed in Tables 2.3, 6.2 and 6.3 have been the subject of union action. Curriculum change has been a constant, significant factor since the end of the 1970s, as evidenced by the initiatives and key papers listed in Table 6.3. I contend that the overview documents for these initiatives, cited in table 2.3, indicate that the place and status of modern foreign languages has varied significantly (see Table 6.1) across initiatives and that this is therefore an aspect of the study.

In Scotland, qualifications have been managed separately from the

curriculum. At the start of the period of this thesis, HMI controlled examinations (Paterson, 2003; SED, 1959) but control of the qualifications system was transferred in 1962 to an 'independent' body, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examinations Board (SCEEB) and thence to its successors, the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) and the current agency, the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA), although this has a wider brief than its predecessors. Along with significant variations in the number and nature of languages available, qualifications formats have also changed throughout the period from the introduction of individual Ordinary Grades, Higher Grade and Certificate of Sixth Year Studies during the first half of the 1960s, the appearance of Standard Grades (and, to some extent, revised Highers) from the late 1980s, the difficult birth of National Qualifications during the late 1990s and early 2000s to the appearance of 'new' National Qualifications from 2014 (although teaching began in summer 2013). The reputation of SQA and its predecessors has historically been high but crashed in 2000 and has again been under scrutiny in the build-up to *Curriculum for Excellence*. I suggest that language qualification provision and governance are also significant factors in the governance of MFL.

2.4.4 Governance Issues

This section of the review has identified the background and traditions of Scottish education and its governance, its uniqueness (but linkage to the UK context), the extent of political and curricular change over the period considered and, lastly, the complex but partially opaque layers of governance

organisations and actors with their cooperative yet potentially contending interrelations. I have also found some evidence that 'elite actors' (Lord Forsyth being the most profound example, but other examples exist) may have had significant impact on the nature and direction of policy and governance.

Major issues remain unresolved, however. No research has fully examined the nature of Scottish educational governance (although I have cited papers which have touched on aspects of this), nor has any researcher attempted to depict governance structure(s?), whether as a hierarchy, network or more complex, multi-layer and/or multi-modal structure. Emerging from the research (e.g. Arnott, Bryce & Humes, Humes, McPherson & Raab, Ozga, Patterson, Raffe) is a clear view that agency, particularly of the policy elite/community is important but, equally clearly, there *are* structures which enable and constrain that agency, although these also change during the period concerned. Neither the exact nature of agency, the enabling/restraining structures nor the balance of structure and agency are clear from prior research. This militates for an application of the work of Jessop, Marsh and/or Duit and Galaz in the structural context, and of Ball, Stoker and/or Bevir and Rhodes in the agency context in attempting to resolve this. I suggest that, within the main study, this will be a key 'plank' in the process of identifying the 'who, what, with whom, within what' and, crucially, 'why and how' of Scottish educational governance and thus applying the insight gained to the governance of MFL in Scotland.

Given the crucial nature of governance, not least in terms of achieving widespread ‘buy-in’ and thus more effective implementation of initiatives, I should have expected to find clear evidence of appropriate research commissioned by the Scottish Government or its predecessors. Unfortunately, document 0092561 (Scottish Government, 2010), a database of all 386 items of research commissioned and published by the Scottish Government’s Education Analytical Services Division (now Directorate) and its predecessors in the almost two decades from 1991, lists no studies of governance (and only one on leadership, in a small primary school context). There are two studies of MFLs (from the SCILT team, cited by me in Section 2.1), only one of which considers any aspect of leadership or governance. Subsequent searches have found no further research on this topic. I therefore argue that the key issues identified within this section and brought together in this sub-section should be overlaid upon those already identified from Sections 2.2 and 2.3 in the final analysis of this review.

2.5 Modern Foreign Language Learning, Development and Governance

The term ‘modern foreign languages’ (MFLs) denotes the set of current, rather than classical, foreign languages taught in schools alongside the teaching of ‘mother tongue’ languages as part of the overall input to Language within the Scottish curriculum. In Scotland, the ‘mother tongue’ language is predominantly English, with around 1% speaking Gaelic, although not all of these would claim Gaelic as their ‘mother tongue’ but it is worth noting that Polish is the second-commonest language in 22 of 32 Scottish local authorities (see Section 6.4). There are also Slavic, Asian and African groups speaking a range of ‘community languages’.

The main English-language strands of MFL research (totalling over 2,000 papers) comprise, in approximate order of quantity: methodology (e.g. Low *et al.*, 1993, 1995; Low & Johnstone, 1997; Mitchell, 2003), pupil motivation (e.g. Chambers, 1999; Graham, 2004; McPake *et al.*, 1999; Qualifications & Curriculum Agency, 2001; Walsh & Yeoman, 1999; Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002), specific primary (e.g. Johnstone *et al.*, 2000; Low, 1999, 2008; Martin, 2000; Tierney & Gallastegi, 2005) or secondary (e.g. Johnstone, 1999, 2008; McPake *et al.*, 1999) issues, gender differences (e.g. Trafford, 1995; Powney, 1996), SEN issues (e.g. Lindsay, 2003), use of ICT (Kirwan, 2002), Anglophone issues (Lo Bianco, 1987; Milton & Meara, 1998; Mitchell, 2007), progression (e.g. Johnstone, 2003; Mitchell & Myles, 1998), the starting age for MFL teaching (e.g. Burstall, 1974; Hatch, 1983, Gilzow & Branaman,

2000; Johnstone, 2002; Marinova-Todd, 2000; Rhodes & Branaman, 1999), elitism (Powell, 2002), the implications of MFL for employment (Lee, Buckland & Shaw, 1998), teacher recruitment/training (Lipton, 2001) and, inevitably, assessment (McPake *et al.*, 1999; SEED 2003) and attainment (e.g. Brown, Hill & Iwashita, 2000; Johnstone *et al.,* 2000; Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell, Martin & Grenfell, 1992; Powney, 1996; Rosenbusch, 1995; SEED, 2003). Only one paper touching on governance of MFLs (a primary school context) was found.

The categories listed in the previous paragraph are confirmed by a literature review on Second Language Learning carried out by Archibald *et al.* (2006). Citing over 250 sources, Archibald *et al.* gave no references to the impact (or existence) of governance in these developments. Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2010), although concentrating on student perceptions of MFL, cite almost a hundred further sources, largely concentrating on motivation and attitudinal studies and, although covering almost all of the categories from the previous paragraph, have no governance studies, but do cover two policy papers and one study which borders on aspects of governance. A few other studies have examined specifically Scottish or English approaches to MFL and, of these, only the CILT (annually, 2002-2011) and SCILT (2010a, 2011a, 2011b) studies, along with Johnstone *et al.*'s (2000) study and Doughty's recent SCILT papers (2013a, 2013b, 2013c) have attempted to track MFL enrolment or attainment but none of these studies examines governance, management or leadership. Scott's studies of Chinese language learning (2011, 2012, 2014) give limited insight into the governance of this specific

development but are necessarily small-scale. However, the studies of Ager (1996, 2001) and Hunt *et al.* (2005) do examine policy (broadly in the former cases and within the context of primary MFL learning in the latter) but found 'a paucity of research' (Hunt *et al.* 2005) in many of the contexts outlined within this paragraph.

In a European context, there have been some single-country studies and others taking a comparative approach (e.g. primary MFL: Blondin *et al.* (1998); use of ICT in MFL: Kirwan (2002)) but not all of these have been 'founded on a secure research base' (Hunt *et al.* 2005: 7). The European Commission intermittently analyses aspects of language learning and capability on a comparative basis. Their most recent publications in this context, Eurobarometers 243 and 386 (European Commission, 2005, 2013) contain large quantities of helpful data on the extent of second and third language capability, language learning and learner attitudes. These publications are again addressed in Chapter 6 but the 2005 data shown in Table 2.4 are sufficient to illustrate the basic concerns about UK/Scottish societal linguistice capacity:

Table 2.4 European Data on Societal Language Proficiency
(from Eurobarometer 243: Europeans & Their Languages)

Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue?

	At least one language	At least two languages	At least three languages	None
EU25	**56%**	**28%**	**11%**	**44%**
LUX	99%	92%	69%	1%
SLK	97%	48%	22%	3%
LAT	95%	51%	14%	5%
LIT	92%	51%	16%	8%
MAL	92%	68%	23%	8%
NEL	91%	75%	34%	9%
SLV	91%	71%	40%	9%
SWE	90%	48%	17%	10%
EST	89%	58%	24%	11%
DEN	88%	66%	30%	12%
CYP	78%	22%	6%	22%
BEL	74%	67%	53%	26%
FIN	69%	47%	23%	31%
GER	67%	27%	8%	33%
AUS	62%	32%	21%	38%
CZE	61%	29%	10%	39%
GRE	57%	19%	4%	43%
POL	57%	32%	4%	43%
FRA	51%	21%	4%	49%
ESP	44%	17%	6%	56%
HUN	42%	27%	20%	58%
POR	42%	23%	6%	58%
ITA	41%	16%	7%	59%
U.K.	38%	18%	6%	62%
IRE	34%	13%	2%	66%
PLUS the 4 new states:				
CRO	71%	36%	11%	29%
BUL	59%	31%	8%	41%
ROM	47%	27%	6%	53%
TUR	33%	5%	1%	67%

From Eurobarometer 243, 2005, Table [D48b-d]

As may be seen, of the 25 established EU member states, the UK was ranked 24th in terms of linguistic capability (above Ireland). Inevitably, this raises issues of MFL learning in Anglophone countries. Research in Australia,

Canada and the United States (some of it cited in paragraph two of this section) demonstrates that there are inherent issues, including motivation, Anglophone cultural dominance, effort and non-availability of teachers in at least some MFLs for English-speaking MFL learners.

Across the UK, there have been significant similarities with respect to MFL learning, although differences and contrasts are also apparent (Aldridge, 2001). In general terms, the limited studies (Aldridge, 2001; Centre for Public Policy for Regions, 2006) carried out indicate that Scotland has stayed stronger in MFLs than the other parts of the UK throughout the timescale of this study, although only because of a greater collapse in the other UK areas. Early UK-wide attempts in the 1960s to introduce French into the primary school were abandoned as a result of critical reports (Burstall *et al.*, 1974; HMI 1979) which concurred that there had been no discernible benefits for pupils. However, studies of second-generation efforts to introduce MFLs into Scottish and English primaries (Johnstone, 1994, Hamilton, 1995; Powell *et al.,* 2001) did find greater success. The secondary MFL situation is also problematic as the key studies, FLUSS: Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School (McPake *et al.*, 1999) and the CILT (annually, 2002-2011) and SCILT (2010a, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) reports, suggest.

My review also sought studies of university and FE college support for (or involvement in the governance/development of) school education in MFL but again only one study (Doughty, 2008) appeared in the searches carried out.

Doughty suggests that presentations to school groups by FE/university lecturers are the commonest collaborative activity, largely delivered to senior year groups, but gives no idea of the scale of this. Barriers to success were noted as lack of time in universities, and lack of interest in languages in FE.

The Centre for Information on Language Teaching (CILT) publishes annual language trends (CILT, 2002 - 2013) and, as cited earlier, Scottish CILT has published some equivalents. I found little other research (Bell & Forster, 2001; Aldridge, 2001) on the significantly fluctuating patterns of MFL provision, uptake and attainment (and none on the rationale or chain of causality which underpins them). A sustained search for prior theses (using ERIC, EthOS, Google Scholar, CrossSearch and Web of Knowledge) relating to the governance of MFL found one thesis on MFL in tertiary education (Doughty, 2005) and none in primary or secondary education, as well as seven theses on aspects of educational governance (but none of these related directly to MFL learning). No policy/education sociological studies on the governance of MFL learning were uncovered within my search. I therefore conclude that the impact of governance (whether good or bad) on such a lengthy major project has not been the subject of significant research.

2.6 Modern Foreign Language Learning in Scotland

2.6.1 Governance and Policy Research

Beyond some primary school studies (e.g. Tierney & Gallestegi, 2005) in some general contexts noted in Section 2.5 which bear on leadership, policy and governance to a limited extent, I find that there have only been two significant strands of research/evaluation on these topics in Scotland: the inspectorial strand of HMI/HMIe and the academic review provided by the SCILT-based group of Johnstone, McPake, Low and their associates but neither addresses governance (cf. Lennon (2003) on 'no-one mentions failures of policy'). These works provided 'spot-checks' on progress with specific initiatives (HMI/HMIe, 1969, 1990, 1998, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Johnstone, 1984, 2002, 2008; Johnstone *et al.*, 2000; Low, 1999, 2008; McPake, 2003; McPake *et al.*, 1999) but again no attempt, except Johnstone *et al.* (2000), has been made to examine why these things happened and none has evaluated them against planning, policy and leadership. As previously noted, the Scottish Government Education Analytical Services Division or its previous incarnations have carried out almost no research.

My review of policy indicates that there have been eight sets of MFL policies published by successive governments from 1962 to 2012. These include (i) the original O Grade, Higher and Certificate of Sixth Year Studies arrangements of the early 1960s (SE, 1959), (ii) the MLPS policy of the late

1980s, (iii) the 5-14 MFL policy (produced in two waves a decade apart), (iv) the Standard Grade arrangements for Modern Languages, (v) Citizens of a Multilingual World (Ministerial Action Group, 2000) and its Ministerial Response (Scottish Executive, 2001), (vi) the Higher Still and National Qualifications arrangements for Modern Languages of the late 1990s, (vii) the current CfE documentation and new National Qualifications arrangements for Modern Languages and, most recently, (viii) the '1+2 Report' and its Ministerial Response. (both Scottish Government, 2012). When read together, these policies do not convey a consistent vision for the place and status of Modern Languages or a consistent strategy for achieving this place, very few embrace more than a small part of the overall school curriculum and not all have been implemented as intended. Finally, there have been some papers in Scottish-based journals (particularly by Templeton (e.g. in Scottish Languages Review, 16, pp. 1-3) on very specific aspects of MFL policy and/or governance.

2.6.2 Outcomes of Governance: Courses, Candidates and Qualifications

My review of qualifications records indicates that twenty different modern foreign languages (counting the two forms of Mandarin Chinese as one language) have been available to candidates at various times during the fifty-year period, with six to fourteen available at one time (SEB, then SQA – Annual Examination Statistics, 1965 to 2012). However, this disguises a picture of constant and significant fluctuation, in subjects, enrolments and

attainment, across the fifty years of this study (*ibid*.)

A general consensus (HMI, 1998, 2005a, 2007; Johnstone, 2008; McPake *et al.*, 1999; McPake, 2003; SCILT, 2011a, 2011b; SCILT/Scottish Government, 2010) indicates that MFL learning has been, and is, currently in difficulty (SCILT, 2010a; Scott, 2014). Analysis of SQA and Scottish Government statistics indicates that inputs – in terms of MFL learners and teachers – have occasionally increased although it is clear that both current and long-term trends are downwards. For pupil enrolments in MFL courses, the statistics demonstrate that, despite repeated governmental interventions, (raw and percentage) pupil uptakes have fluctuated significantly at all Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) Levels apart from CSYS/Advanced Higher, but the overall trend Is of significant decline. MFL teacher numbers have also fluctuated during the period (Scottish Government website) but have suffered an overall decline, with periods of teacher shortage. Outputs, in terms of pupil pass rates in MFL courses, have also fluctuated but follow a downward (and, in some languages, sharply downward) path (Scottish Qualifications Authority website – Annual Examination Statistics 1965 to 2012; Scottish Qualifications Statistics Section bespoke reports (requested by me); Scottish Government website).

This thesis provides new insight into the outcomes of the governance of MFLs in Scotland as, for the first time, it collates and analyses both raw data and trends in enrolment and attainment for all MFLs at SCQF levels 3-7 for the

entire period covered by individual subject qualifications. Full data is provided in Chapter 6 but Figures 2.1 and 2.2 summarise key elements of pupil enrolment and pupil attainment at SCQF Levels 3-7 (National 3/Access 3, National 4/ Intermediate 1, National 5/Intermediate 2, Higher and Advanced Higher), the main examinable levels in Scotland.

As may be seen, with the significant exception of Levels 3-5 where the introduction of S Grade in the early 1990s led to a sudden rise in languages candidates, a parallel lowering of Level 5 passes (as a percentage of the now significantly increased total) and a respite from decline at Levels 6 and 7, the general picture is of a consistent downward trend with occasional fluctuations. Full details of trends and causal factors are detailed in Section 6.3.

Figure 2.1 **Modern Foreign Language Entries: as a percentage of the total number of entries at that SCQF Level**

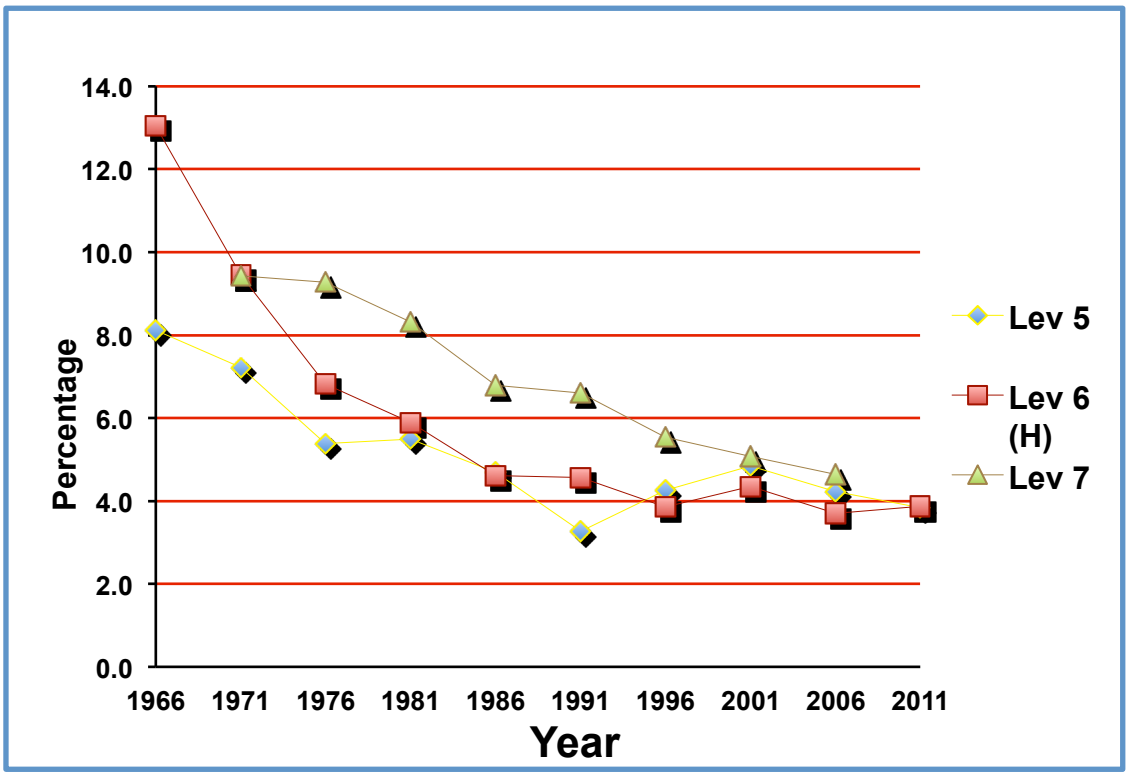
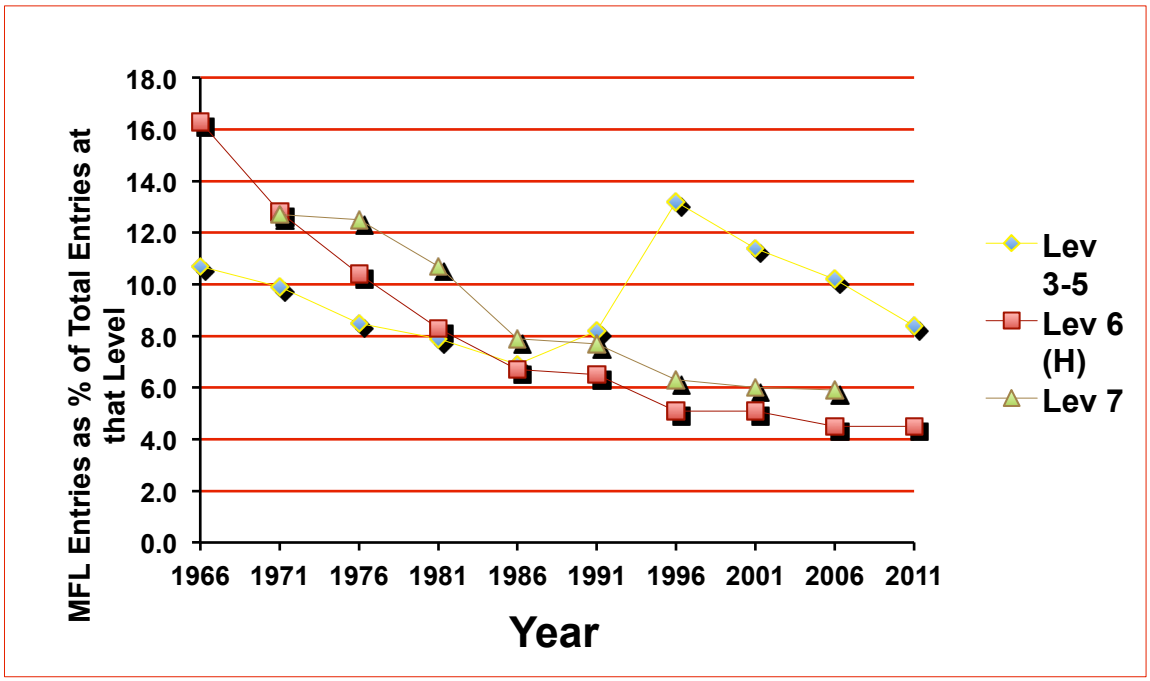


Figure 2.2 **Modern Foreign Language Attainment: Number of passes as a percentage of the total number of entries at that SCQF Level**



The Centre for Public Policy for Regions study (CPPR 2009) also provides a useful set of UK comparisons which are summarised in Table 2.5:

Table 2.5: Comparative English, Mathematics, Science and MFL Attainment Data for the Four UK countries

The % of pupils in their last year of compulsory education who achieve grades A-C GCSE's or Scottish NQ equivalents by selected subjects					
		Scotland	**England**	**Wales**	**N. Ireland**
English	98-99	70.6	52.7	52.1	58.7
	06-07	69.8	60.2	58.9	62.9
	change	-0.8	+7.5	+6.8	+4.2
Maths	98-99	50.9	44.9	42.9	48.8
	06-07	48.3	54.6	50.0	54.7
	change	-2.6	+9.7	+7.1	+5.9
Any Science	98-99	60.7	45.7	47.0	44.2
	06-07	57.0	51.3	48.7	59.5
	change	-3.7	+5.6	+1.7	**+15.3**
Any Modern Language	98-99	50.4	39.2	26.8	43.9
	06-07	48.6	30.9	21.1	43.5
	change	-1.8	-8.3	-5.7	-0.4

Developed from Centre for Public Policy for Regions (2009), Table 3b, p. 5

The CPPR (2009) study suggests that Scottish attainment at SCQF Levels 3-5 in MFL declined slightly, roughly in line with the decline in Mathematics, slightly more than the decline in English and less than the decline in Sciences. Scotland lost its leading position of 1998-99 in Mathematics (falling from first

to fourth) and Science but held its position in English with a reduced majority and improved its MFL position against England and Wales (although entirely due to the collapse of their performances).

Although comprehensive data is provided in Chapter 6, I suggest that these three sets of data, considered alongside Table 2.3, indicate that there are significant issues to be considered in MFL enrolment and attainment at all SCQF levels, that there are also significant issues across the UK and that the resulting poor linguistic capability of Scottish and UK adults is of itself a significant issue arising from failures of MFL governance.

2.7 Conclusions

I suggest that the definitions of governance and the governance framework/models identified within earlier sections of this review provide an effective means of applying governance theory to educational governance, and specifically to the governance of MFLs in Scotland. I also propose that this review identifies partially or wholly unexplored issues of complexity, high rates of political, societal and curricular change and an uncertain balance of agency and structure within educational governance in Scotland, all features which require analysis. Since this literature review also demonstrates a lack of research around the strategic governance of major educational initiatives in Scotland and that MFLs have been particularly poorly served in this respect, I conclude, given the academic and economic importance of improving MFL learning, that the governance of MFL developments in school education in Scotland is an appropriate area for further research.

Through the five sections of this literature review I have identified four sets of issues impacting upon this governance problem:

Governance – Structure

1. What is the nature of educational governance in Scotland: hierarchic, marketised, networked or a more complex multi-level system?
2. If multi-level, how do the structures and processes of the various layers of educational governance interrelate and does this work effectively?
3. How do structure, process and agency interact in shaping educational governance (of MFLs)?

Governance - Agency

1. What has been the impact of individual/group agency at all levels of governance? Has this been appropriate or disproportionate?
2. Is educational governance driven by a 'policy elite', a consensual 'policy community' or other means?
3. Has the size and closeness of the policy elite/community in Scotland helped or hindered MFL development and governance?
4. How/why have national politicians, bureaucrats, local politicians, education authorities and headteachers played their roles in governance?
5. What is/was the capacity of national/local governance organisations and actors to support/lead MFLs?

Governance – Models and Elements

1. To which theoretical model(s) does MFL governance most closely correspond, and what does governance theory reveal about Scottish educational governance?
2. What elements of governance are apparent in the various MFL initiatives?
3. How well have policy generation, planning, curriculum development, implementation and evaluation been carried out?
4. What adjustments to governance and initiatives have been made due to research or evaluation?

Governance – Governing MFLs

1. What has been the vision for MFLs in Scotland?
2. How have the fluctuating curricular status, provision and governance of MFL courses supported the development of, and outcomes from, MFL?
3. Do the fluctuating pace and complexity of change, 'innovation overload' and '*ad hoc* management' result at times in crisis management?

4. Why is Scotland performing better in MFLs (or getting worse less quickly) than the rest of the UK, but worse in a European context?
5. Why has the provision of MFL courses fluctuated and why have some languages been discarded?
6. Why have MFL enrolments and attainment fallen (with occasional rallies) since the 1960s? Why have there been rallies?
7. Why has there been little previous research/analysis of MFL issues?

This literature review demonstrates that the governance challenges posed by the complex interactions of strategic, political (national and/or local), institutional, organisational, educational and linguistic governance issues, in the context of MFL learning and, more widely, Scottish educational governance itself have not been analysed through research. The need to clarify by what means, by whom and how well governance is carried out, allied to the need to address the decline in MFL learning (and learners) suggest an examination of the governance of MFL learning in Scotland during the fifty years outlined represents an appropriate focus for the study which follows. The study therefore seeks to answer the research questions developed from these concerns and formulated in Section 3.1.

Chapter 3 Research Basis, Methodology and Design

3.1 Purpose and Aims of the Research

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the nature and effectiveness of the governance of modern foreign language (MFL) learning, teaching and assessment during the period from 1962. The study makes a historical examination of MFL governance, triangulating official and archival documentation with prior research, with statistical data on teacher and course availability, pupil uptake and attainment and with the results of questionnaires and interviews encapsulating the views of key/elite governance actors.

The study comprises two phases. In the first phase, MFL governance is examined in three contexts: governance structures, agency in governance and governance of MFL policy and initiatives. In the second phase, the findings from these three analyses are further integrated to synthesise a view of meso- and macro-level MFL governance in Scotland and its effectiveness. This view is evaluated against Governance Theory to assess the effectiveness of MFL governance.

3.1.1 The Research Question

Sarantakos (2005) suggests that the first step for the researcher is to identify and describe the topic to be researched and to express this topic in terms of a research question. Creswell (2003) considers research questions to fall into two distinct categories: 'a central question and associated sub questions' (p.105). He sees the central question as providing a broad outline of the focus of the research project and the sub-questions as examining key aspects of the main question. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) suggest that such an approach will inform the subsequent methodology for the study. Adopting Creswell's approach, this study aims to provide answers to the following main research question:

How have the nature and effectiveness of the governance of modern foreign languages in Scottish school-based education developed during the period 1962 to 2014?

3.1.2 Research Aims and Sub-questions

This study takes the related sets of issues arising from the literature review and summarised in Section 2.7 as its starting point and aims to:

- Investigate and analyse the nature of Scottish politico-educational governance of modern foreign language (MFL) learning in primary and secondary schools and of the campaigns carried out

- Analyse the effectiveness of the governance structures, actions, cultures and linkages amongst governance agents in place during the period of the study
- Examine whether MFL governance provides insights into the wider politico-educational governance of education in Scotland.
- Use governance theory to provide a framework for these

To provide a framework through which MFL governance may be examined, the main research question is amplified to form four linked sub-questions which embody the aims of the research:

1 How have the MFL governance structures in Scotland functioned and evolved during the period concerned?
2 How, how well, why and in what ways has the agency of key governance actors and groups shaped and modified those structures and processes?
3 What models, elements and cultures of governance have been, and are, apparent in the governance of MFL?
4 How do these governance structures and actions relate to the apparent deterioration in modern foreign language learning in schools as illustrated in terms of enrolment, attainment and linguistic capacity?

3.1.3 My Background and Role as Researcher

My professional background lies in Mathematics and Computer Science. My presence in MFL education was initially accidental, dating from 1998 when I

elected, with the support of my local authority, to form a link with a Chinese school. My other involvements in MFL governance derive from that and from my involvement with SEB/SQA. My professional experience lies in educational governance, mainly in the meso-layer. That experience includes 23 years as headteacher in three schools, enriched by involvement in local authority roles, either by secondment or as a member and chairman of authority committees across four of the thirty-two local authorities. To this meso-level activity, I can add some macro-governance as a member and/or chairman of several Scottish Office/Executive/Government committees alluded to in Chapter 6, including committees related to Higher Still, Curriculum Flexibility, the Scottish Baccalaureate, Curriculum for Excellence, Computing Studies and Chinese education, also in SEB/SQA as an examiner/assessor/principal assessor and as a member/chair of SEB/SQA committees including the recent Languages Curriculum Area Review Group (CARG). Beyond these, I am the past chair of a multi-authority committee on curriculum development and a member of several national committees related to Chinese education.

It is important to state that, as a researcher, I approached this study with a positive inclination towards modern foreign languages and their importance to the Scottish and UK economies, to the quality, richness and diversity of Scottish education and to Scottish civic society in general. That positive view was balanced by an understanding that MFLs represent only one of a range of curricular experiences from which learners can benefit. Given that my

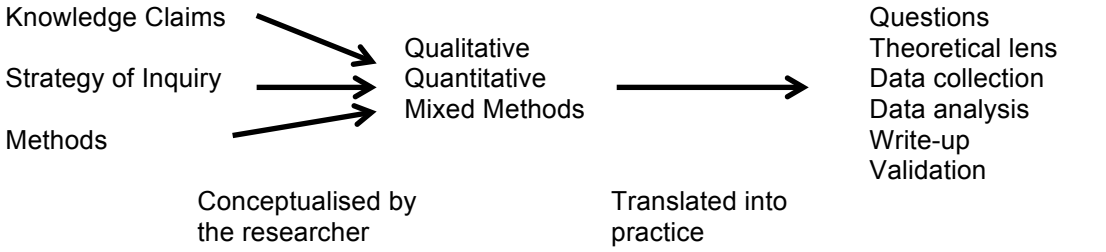
governance footprints, albeit with those of very many others, could be seen across significant aspects of the initiatives and timescale of this thesis, I elected to restrict myself to gathering, analysing and integrating the views of key and elite governance actors, the relevant statistical data, sets of archival and official documentation on policy, agency, structures, culture and initiatives and the findings of previous reserchers in this and related fields. My own involvement has four aspects: selecting, using and analysing the findings from a range of instruments chosen by me (but tested against the views of others); identifying sources of relevant information; providing an overall framework which directs the research and finally, on a very few occasions, providing information from direct experience. Thus, my involvement is necessarily that of a social researcher, but I have taken every opportunity – through my choice of paradigm and methods, through triangulation and integration of findings, through cross-reference with the views of existing expert researchers in the field and through member checking with respondents to test the authenticity of my findings – to ensure that these findings, integrated from many sources, provide an authentic view of what has happened and continues to happen in Scottish politico-educational governance. Despite my living through many of the events described, many of my findings have given me as much cause for reflection as they have to respondents who have 'member-checked' them: this seems to suggest that the study has been at least partially successful in touching on aspects of the reality (however one defines that concept) of Scottish educational governance.

3.2 Identifying a Research Design

3.2.1 From Philosophy to Rationale

Research theorists describe research design as a set of steps and choices through which the researcher defines a research pathway. The approach of one influential commentator, John Creswell (2003), is summarised in Figure 3.1:

Figure 3.1 Research Design: Elements, Approaches and Design Processes



From Creswell (2003, p. 5)

I adopted Creswell's approach rather than those of competing theorists (e.g. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), Denzin and Lincoln (2003) or Sarantakos (2005)) as it is comprehensive, well-structured and has moved beyond 'paradigm wars' (Gage, 1989b; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003) to consider the relative merits of Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods

Research (MMR) paradigms for any study. Since initial research suggested that this study *might* be best framed by a Mixed Methods Research (MMR) approach, I also studied MMR theorists, particularly aspects of the work of Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) and Cameron (2011)). Like Creswell, Tashakkori and Teddlie have a breadth of expertise in social research but also have a reputation for their expertise in MMR, whereas Cameron is a specialist in MMR.

Consideration of Creswell's (2003) three central Elements of Inquiry (knowledge claims, strategies of Inquiry and methods) led me to consider that an MMR approach *would* be both the most appropriate philosophical approach and would yield the most effective research design to take this study forward. Creswell's (2003, pp. 6-12) Knowledge Claims parallel other researchers' consideration of ontology, epistemology, methodology or, more globally, paradigms (Kuhn, 1962; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Table 3.1 illustrates Creswell's Knowledge Claim positions:

Table 3.1 Alternative Knowledge Claim Positions.

Postpositivism	**Constructivism**
Determination Reductionism Empirical observation and measurement Theory verification	Understanding Multiple participant meanings Social and historical construction Theory generation
Advocacy/Participatory	**Pragmatism**
Political Empowerment issue-oriented Collaborative Change-oriented	Consequences of actions Problem-centred Pluralistic Real-world practice-oriented

From Creswell (2003, p.6)

Aspects of all four options *could* have relevance for this study, suggesting that *bricolage* (Levi-Strauss, 1966, quoted by Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, pp. 5-9) – 'the use of a patchwork of aesthetic and material tools and whatever strategies, methods or empirical materials are at hand' (Becker, 1998, quoted in Denzin and Lincoln, p.6) - might have been a way forward for this study. However, although Postpositivism, the Advocacy/Participatory position and, especially, the Social Constructivist/ Interpretivist positions have beneficial elements, they also have limitations when dealing with a large-scale study with multiple data sets and a need to adopt both qualitative and quantitative methods. Pragmatism is, however, strongly associated with such types of problem. Cherryholmes (1992), Creswell (2003), Cohen *et al.* (2011) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) all see Pragmatism as either *an*, or *the*,

appropriate philosophical underpinning for MMR studies using pluralistic approaches. Given the multiple themes of this study, this situation appears to require an MMR approach although the adoption of Pragmatism is not automatic, not least since a Constructivist/Interpretivist approach would fit with one of the main stances in Governance Theory. This issue is resolved in the Rationale and Framework sub-section.

Strategies of inquiry, or methodologies (Crotty, 1978; Mertens, 1998, 2003), operate at a more applied level than the philosophical self-placement inherent in paradigms (Creswell, 2003). The three principal sets of strategies used in the social sciences are those associated with quantitative, qualitative and MMR approaches. Table 3.2 demonstrates that, using Creswell's taxonomy, these may be seen to include:

Table 3.2 Alternative Strategies of Inquiry

Quantitative	**Qualitative**	**Mixed Methods**
Experimental designs Non-experimental designs, e.g. surveys	Narratives Phenomenologies Ethnographies Grounded Theory Case studies	Sequential Concurrent Transformative

From Crewell (2003, p. 13).

In this study, the use of Likert scale questions with governance actors suggests a quantitative strategy, as does analysis of statistical data.

However, other aspects of this study, e.g. archival/documentary analysis or interviewing elite governance actors suggest a qualitative strategy. Again, the need to collect and analyse both qualitative and quantitative forms of data militates for an MMR strategy.

The final element of inquiry informing a research approach concerns the specific methods of Data Collection and Analysis. As with Strategies of Inquiry, Table 3.3 demonstrates that these fall into three categories.

Table 3.3 Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Research Methods

Quantitative Research Methods	**Qualitative Research Methods**	**Mixed Research Methods**
Predetermined methods	Emerging methods	Both predetermined and emerging methods
Instrument-based questions	Open-ended questions	Both open and closed questions
Performance data, attitude data, observational data and census data	Interview data, observation data, document data and audio-visual data.	Multiple forms of data drawing on all possibilities
Statistical analysis	Text and image analysis	Statistical and text analysis.

From Creswell (2003, p. 17)

The choice of methods turns on whether the intent is to specify the type of information to be collected in advance of the study or to allow it to emerge from participants in the project (Creswell, 2003, p.17). Given the nature of my research questions, there is a demonstrable need to use both predetermined

(e.g. statistical analysis and questionnaires) and emerging methods (e.g. governance theory models and the bespoke 'Governance wheels' which I developed to test governance actions and impact as a result of experience), as well as a mixture of open/closed questions, multiple forms of data and a mixture of statistical and textual analysis. This is a further indicator of the need for an MMR approach. The remaining elements of Creswell's approach are discussed in context within the Research Design itself.

3.2.2 Rationale and Framework for a Mixed Methods Research (MMR) Design

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) indicate that MMR formally began in the late 1980s. My reading centred on Bazeley, Cameron ('methodological trilingualism' and the '5Ps'), Caracelli, Creswell (the domains of MMR), Greene, Onwuegbuzie (MMR Typology and validity), Patton (ontology), Plano Clark and Tashakkori and Teddlie (MMR mapping and components), as they have been the leading protagonists of a family of approaches to mixed research, since more than methods may be mixed.

The 'Five Ps': A Conceptual Framework for Mixed Methods Research

A year after Creswell and Tashakkori's brief definition of MMR in the original call for papers In the *Journal of Mixed Methods* (2006), Creswell and Plano Clark provided a more rounded definition:

> Mixed methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of the research problems than either approach alone.
>
> (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p.5).

Cameron (2011) advanced this process by identifying the key components - 'the 5Ps': Paradigms, Pragmatism, Praxis, Proficiency and Publishing - of a rationale for using an MMR approach, so addressing the challenges, controversies and crises faced by MMR researchers (Onwuegbuzie & Collins (2007, p.304)). Cameron's 5Ps, with aspects of the work of Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, 2010) and Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007), form the framework for my research design and are thus considered in depth:

P1: Paradigms

> … a pox will soon be called down on all our houses, if there is continuing conflict rather than cooperation among the paradigm adherents. It is to everyone's benefit to cooperate.
>
> (Guba, 1990, p.374)

The research community has still not reached a settled position on MMR paradigms. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011, p.26) see MMR as a 'young paradigm' but accept it 'has been taking place for years' and that there are

many problems where MMR is desirable (2011, pp. 21-25). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p.84) describe six contexts for MMR which have been re-grouped by others, generating three principal means through which MMR researchers deal with paradigms: the a-paradigmatic, multi-paradigmatic and uni-paradigmatic stances.

In a-paradigmatic research, paradigms are ignored and methodology is considered as independent of epistemology (e.g. Patton (1990), but this is difficult once the need for interpretation of data comes along. The a-paradigmatic position is not quite untenable but all researchers have some form of philosophical position, stated or not, influencing their work. Multiparadigmatic researchers access more than one paradigm, through the 'complementary strengths' thesis, the 'multiple paradigms' thesis or the dialectical thesis (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). These either use different paradigms in separate parts of the research (Morse, 2003), or select a 'best fit' paradigm for the design, or mix sets of assumptions, understandings, predispositions, values and beliefs (Greene 2007, p.12). However, none of Tashakkori and Teddlie's attempts to exemplify the mutiparadigmatic approach really make clear why or how paradigms are selected for mixing: the researcher is left to decide, but issues of incommensurability, where mixed paradigms have conflicting ontologies and/or epistemologies, may potentially cause problems.

In a uniparadigmatic stance a single paradigm supporting quantitative *and* qualitative methods is selected, thus, in principle, resolving the issues of dealing with multiple paradigms based on incompatible approaches. Although not without issues, Pragmatism is often chosen (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morgan, 2007) as the philosophical basis for MMR, largely because it has been the only significant stance available to most mixed methods researchers. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), however, see Pragmatism as *the* most appropriate MMR paradigm and there is significant academic backing for this stance. Other paradigms are being proposed, particularly Realism (recently freed from positivist ontology and Marxist associations), either in the form of Scientific Realism or Critical Realism (which would fit well with Jessop's Metagovernance model).

P2: Pragmatism

Within Cameron's 5Ps framework (2011), pragmatism (with a 'small p') is not a reference to Pragmatism. As she (*ibid*., p.101) suggests, it describes researchers informing themselves about key debates in MMR literature and then adopting and effectively defending an informed stance at the interface between philosophy and methods. Patton (2002) also suggests a pragmatic approach to increase appropriateness, reduce bias and enhance flexibility (Patton 2002, pp. 71-72).

P3: Praxis

Praxis is 'the practical application of theory' (Cameron, 2011, p.102). Key issues in praxis relate to methodological and data integration in MMR, also to concerns regarding over- or under-elaboration of integration in design. MMR designs are well integrated when 'methods intentionally interact with one another during the course of the study' (Greene, 2007, p.125). Cameron agrees with Bazeley that the level of integration in many MMR studies is too low. They suggest that, in MMR, integration is a function of 'the extent that different data elements and various strategies for analysis of those elements are combined … thereby producing findings that are greater than the sum of the parts' (Bazeley, 2010, p. 432).

P4: Proficiency

MMR researchers must be 'methodologically trilingual' (Cameron, 2011, p.104), i.e. capable of using quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies. There is, however, a danger of superficiality rather than genuine integration in this. Bryman's (2008, as cited in Cameron, 2011, p.104) study of MMR-based articles in social journals over the decade 1994-2003 found almost half presented qualitative and quantitative findings separately and only 18% offered genuine integration. This thesis integrates instruments, data and analysis in each of the three initial strands of Phase 1 of the research. The findings from these three strands are then themselves integrated to form a multi-faceted view of educational governance and this outcome is itself

compared with a theoretical framework drawn from Governance Theory, thus providing sustained integration of data, instruments, analysis and reporting.

P5: Publishing

The ‘fifth P’ is either Publishing or Politics, depending on the source. Both words convey aspects of the concept as P5 addresses the challenges of presenting (and being enabled to present) MMR research within the research community. Much of the issue here concerns the willingness of publishers to accept MMR research because of the innate paradigmatic views within their field. The problem does not directly affect this thesis, although it is appropriate to be mindful both of the range of interviewees and of the audience served by this thesis. This is discussed further in the Presentation of Findings sub-section of the Research Design.

Section 3.3 The Research Design

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, pp.59-68) defined four MMR designs: Triangulation, Embedded, Explanatory and Exploratory. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) more recently produced an extended taxonomy identifying six designs: parallel mixed, sequential mixed, quasi-mixed, conversion mixed, multilevel mixed and fully integrated, but the description in the following table is an amalgam developed from the work of Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.22), with Creswell, Morse and Tashakkori and Teddlie. Within Table 3.4 (and the subsequent research design), ‘’QUAL’ and qual’ represent qualitative; ‘QUAN’ and ‘quan’ represent quantitative; ‘+’ represents concurrent processes; ‘->’ represents sequential processes; upper case represents high significance or weighting and lower case represents low significance or weighting. Where upper and lower case coincide, this implies that the upper case is the dominant mode of research.

Table 3.4 A Mixed Methods Design Matrix

		Time order decision	
		Concurrent	**Sequential**
Paradigm Emphasis Decision	**Equal status**	**QUAL + QUAN**	**QUAL -> QUAN** **QUAN -> QUAL**
	Dominant status	**QUAL + quan** **QUAN + qual**	**QUAL -> quan** **Qual -> QUAN** **QUAN -> qual** **Quan -> QUAL**

From Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.22) using notation attributed to Morse (1991).

Applying Tashakkori and Teddlie's (2009) nomenclature, the design for my study is a fully integrated, two-phase design with three concurrent MMR strands followed by a single MMR strand. It is now described in terms of Purpose, Philosophy, Strategy of Inquiry (including a design overview), Methods, Approach (with the detailed design), Data Collection (including sampling strategies), Data Analysis and Presentation of Findings. Limitations, Validity and Reliability are then considered in the following section.

3.3.1 Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study and academic views on this process are set out in Section 3.1. Following Creswell's (2003, pp. 105-108, 114-116) approach, the research question and the four sub-questions of Section 3.1 provide the framework for the study, define the basis for the two-stage structure of the design and also define the four elements of the study. I therefore employ *triangulation* of data and methods, followed by *triangulation* and *complementarity* in a 4-element, 2-phase MMR process (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, pp.59-68).

3.3.2 Philosophy (P1 and P2)

As noted in Section 3.2, in the sub-section on Knowledge Claims, I have selected Pragmatism (Cherryholmes, 1992; Creswell, 2003; Cohen *et al.*, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). However, Realism (particularly Scientific

Realism) and Pragmatism share many standpoints (Cameron, 2011), and are thus compatible in use. Although I chose Pragmatism as my main paradigm, I seek to balance the potential expediency of Pragmatism with the use of a Realist approach in the theoretical aspects of the second phase and some aspects of Interpretivism in dealing with interviewees. Thus there are mulitparadigmatic aspects to the study.

As Cherryholmes (1992, p.14) suggests, Pragmatists 'pick and choose how and what to research and what to do. As some of these strategies work at cross-purposes to his or her desired community and ways of interacting, our pragmatist simply eliminates them as possibilities'. Pragmatists accept theories or explanations if they produce more desirable (not 'better' as this implies 'reality') outcomes and thus a choice *is* better if it produces the desired outcome. By contrast, Scientific Realism 'aims to give us a literally true story of what the world is like' (van Fraasen 1980, as cited in Cherryholmes, 1992, p.14).

The key issue dividing Pragmatists and Realists is, perhaps inevitably, 'reality'. Whereas Realists explain the 'real world' by uncovering more and more complex layers of reality, Pragmatists would be unsure whether they were examining the 'real world' or themselves. Pragmatists examine ideas or actions by identifying their practical consequences. Scientific Realists, aware of the complexities of many 'real world' actions and their causes, describe

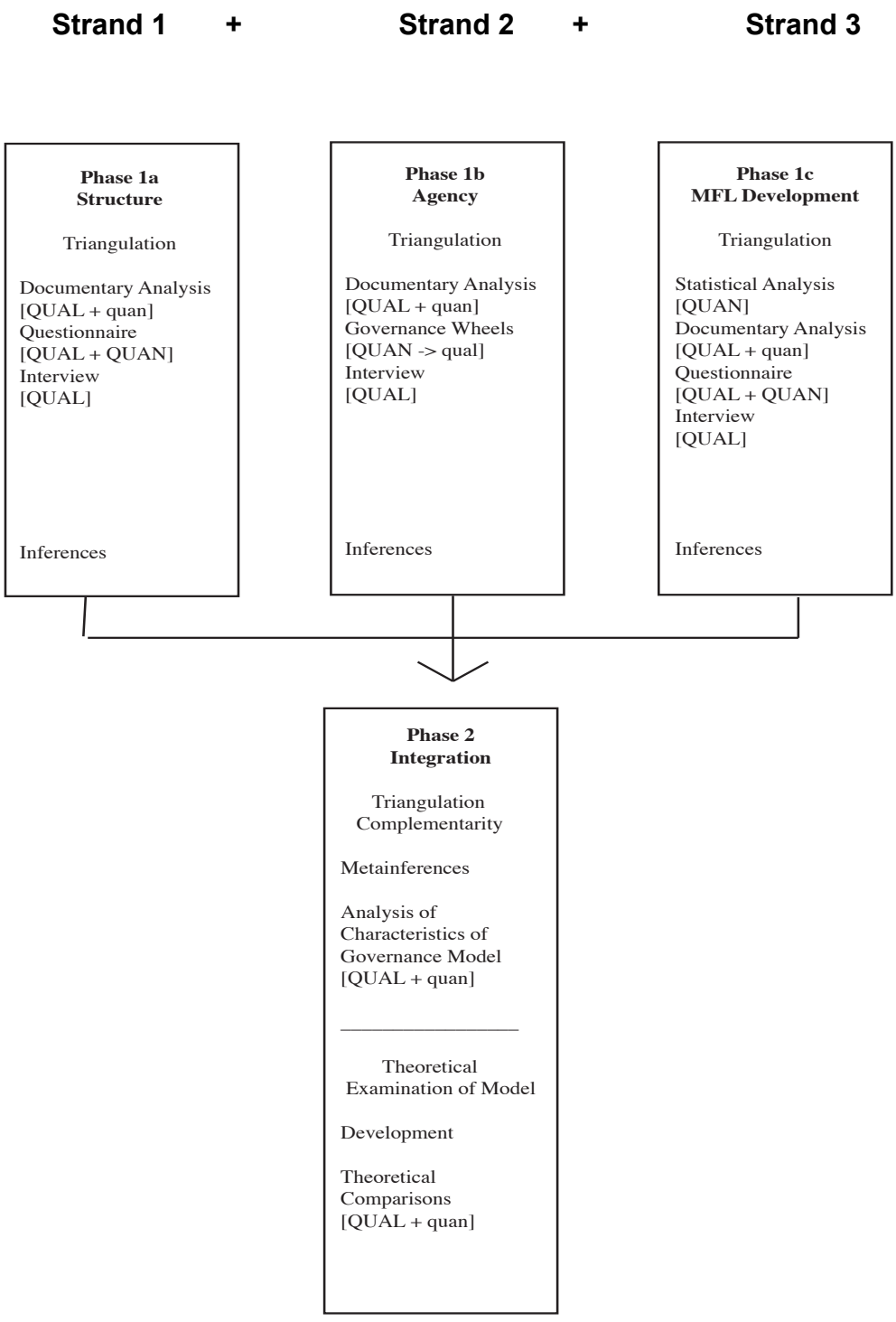
probabilities and likelihoods of events or actions. Thus, given the subject of this study with its layers of governance and its complexity, with structure and agency striving for mastery, with multiple assumptions and 'realities' provided by key governance actors and with unclear linkages among causes and effects, it is difficult to believe that an absolute 'reality' will be discernible. Therefore, I take a Pragmatist stance as the principal means of carrying out this study. Given the useful qualities of Interpretivism and Realism and the dangers of expediency in Pragmatism, however, part of my self-checking processes will be to ascertain where 'reality' may be observed, to ensure that I determine the consequences of *observed* phenomena, rather than shifting my ground to obtain my chosen consequences, and to consider the joint views of respondents against quantitative evidence.

3.3.3 Strategy of Inquiry (P3)

This strategy of Inquiry is summarised in the research structure charts shown in Figures 3.2 – 3.6 and supporting text. The inquiry took place in two phases. The first phase comprised three parallel research strands (Phase 1a, Phase 1b and Phase 1c) in which I collected and analysed data on three areas directly related to the research questions: (1a) governance structures, (1b) governance actors and their agency, (1c) the nature, style and elements of MFL governance, also seeking in each case to ascertain if any evidence was apparent which linked governance, or lack of governance, to rising or falling MFL uptake and attainment.

Figure 3.2 provides an overview of the strategy used to carry out the research.

Figure 3.2 The Overall Multiphase MMR Research Strategy



An MMR approach was employed. The key questions are: which one; does this align with MMR theory; how is the mixing achieved? In terms of Teddlie and Tashakkori's (2009) taxonomy and Creswell's (2003, pp. 210-219) views on research strategies, this is a complex study with four main processes, linked in two sequential phases (*ibid.,* pp.216-218) with the first phase containing three concurrent research strands (*ibid.*, pp.217-219). In each of the three initial strands (see Figures 3.3-3.5), I integrate (by triangulation) quantitative and qualitative methods, quantitative and qualitative data and the findings derived therefrom. The integration of quantitative and qualitative data and methods offsets any weaknesses inherent in a single approach (ibid., p.217). It also minimises the chances of erroneous findings or researcher bias. As described in Figure 3.6, I then integrate the three sets of findings from phase 1 to form a comprehensive picture of MFL governance. Within the design, qualitative and quantitative approaches are mixed at all stages of the investigation. This implies that the research purpose, data types and operations, data analysis and inference and data representation are all mixed. Key researchers (e.g. Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2006; Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006) see such approaches as strong implementations of MMR.

The three Phase One strands were carried out simultaneously, allowing me to search for historical, documentary and statistical evidence and to analyse the data from these while awaiting responses from potential respondents, sending out questionnaires, arranging interviews or waiting to receive amended typescripts. Progress with each respondent was charted on a simple

spreadsheet, minimising delays and maximising the time I had available for identification, collection and analysis of data. Phase Two was carried out after Phases 1a to 1c had been completed.

I used historical and documentary analysis of primary (Cohen *et al.,* 2011, p.250) and secondary (ibid., pp. 249-252) sources; also, working with a set of educational governance respondents (see Table 3.5 and Appendix 4), I employed a questionnaire (ibid., pp. 378-384, 402-408) containing closed questions, Likert scale questions and open-ended questions (offered to 70 key and elite governance actors: see Appendix 5); semi-structured interviews (Cohen *et al*., 437-438; Mcpherson & Raab, 1988, pp.55-70; Ozga & Gewirtz, 1994, pp.125-133) with key and elite governance actors (offered to 40 key and elite governance actors: see Appendix 6) and analysis of several key sets of numerical data (including the full population of SQA data on uptake and attainment in all SEB/SQA MFL courses from 1965 to 2013, the full population of SQA data on the availability and use of SEB/SQA courses at SCQF Levels 3-7 from 1965 to 2013; all available Scottish Government data on MFL teacher numbers from 1962 to 2013 and some more limited data on learner MFL enrolment and attainment from 1959 to 1964). Items (e) Data Sets, (f) Data Collection, (g) Sampling and (h) Data Analysis of this chapter, as well as the descriptions of the individual phases, contain details details of the data sources accessed, the steps taken to collect relevant data, the rationales for different aspects of sampling and how this was carried out and, finally, the means by which the data was analysed and codified.

Figure 3.3 Phase 1a Design – Governance Structures and Processes

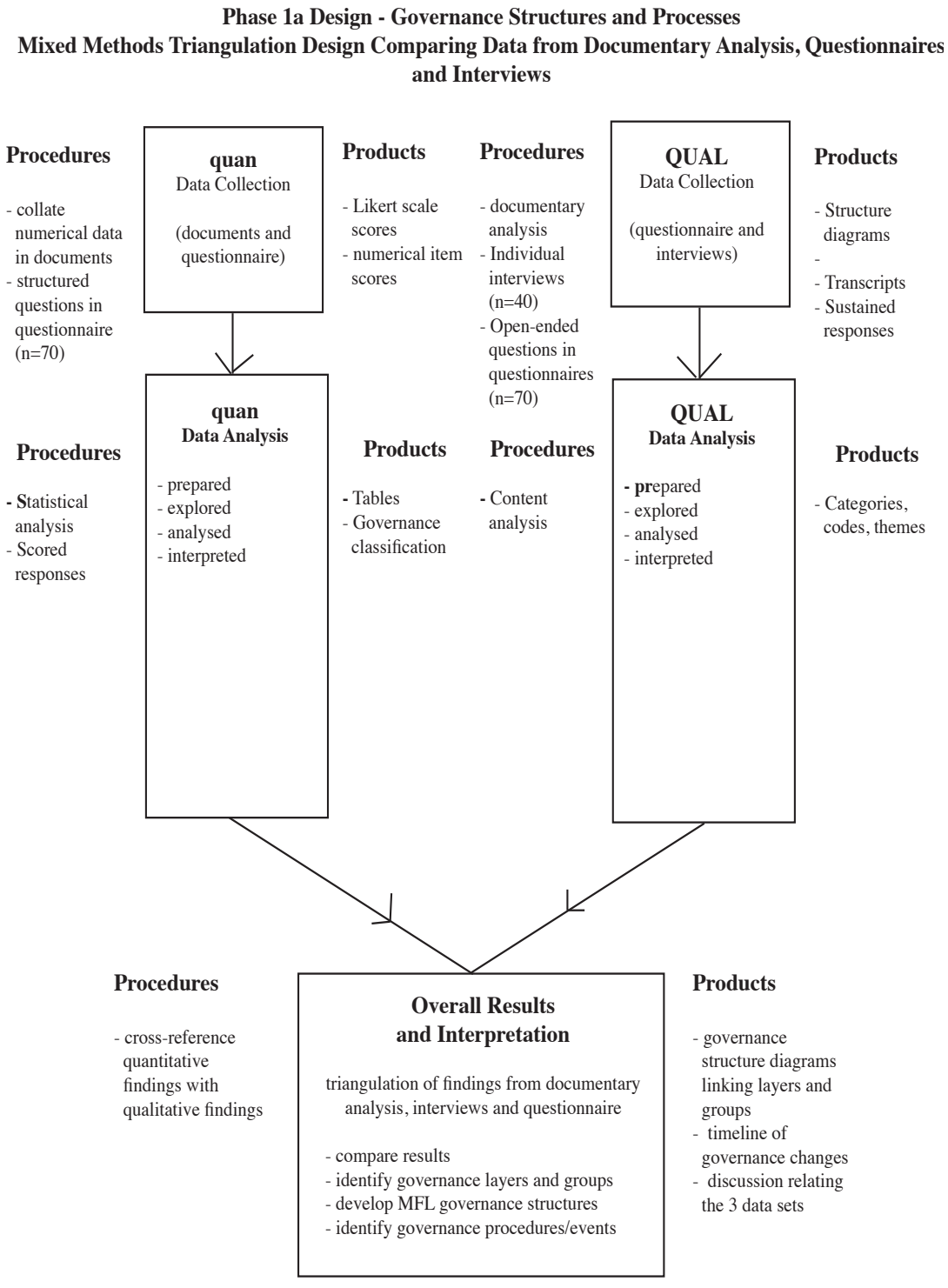


Figure 3.3 illustrates **Phase 1a**, relating to research sub-questions 1 and 3 (see Section 3.1), is concerned with governance structures and processes. The actions taken to investigate this aspect followed Creswell's (2003, pp. 217-218) advice and comprised the identification, analysis and recording of data on governance structures and processes from primary (QUAL + quan (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.22)) sources (e.g. national and local organisational structure charts, national curricular/MFL policies, minutes of national and local council committees, Hansard and Scottish Government proceedings: see item (e) Data Sets of this section of the thesis for complete list), secondary sources (e.g. academic papers and books) (QUAL + quan), questionnaire responses (QUAL) and interview responses (QUAL) to form an integrated view of governance structures within and across the national, local authority and school levels.

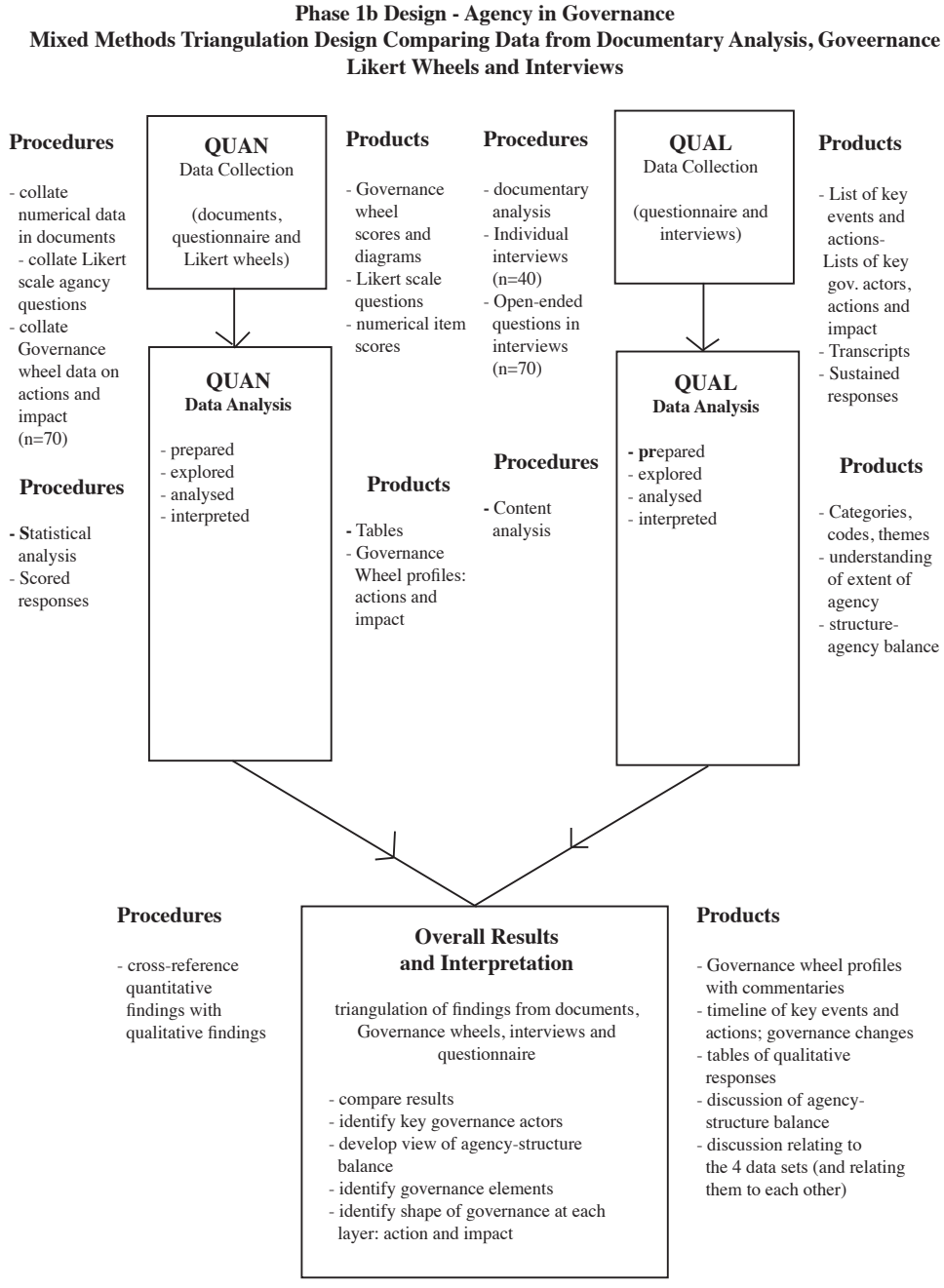
Data collection (see item (f) Data Collection) took place through three qualitative data collection/analysis processes (documentary analysis, as well as analysis of open-ended questionnaire sections and responses to semi-structured interviews) and four quantitative processes (the capture of ratings for governance action and impact through the governance wheels, the results of Likert scale questions from the questionnaire on Influence, Control and Support and some more limited numerical data from documentary analysison tenure of elite actors, etc.). Data analysis (see item (h) Data Analysis) took place both during and after data collection. The findings from these processes are set out in Chapter 4.

The MS Word tables and MS Excel spreadsheets used to manage the significant volumes of data are described in (h) Data Analysis.

Further integration came from repeated topic-by-topic (see the sub-sections of Chapter 4 and the introduction to that chapter) triangulation of the outcomes from some or all of these processes to produce results which were carried forward to the second MMR phase for further integration with the results from Phase 1b, Phase 1c and the Governance Theory findings from Chapter 2.

Figure 3.4 illustrates **Phase 1b**, relating to research sub-question 2 and 3, is concerned with identification of the elements of governance elements and of aspects of individual and group agency (action and impact; influence, control and support):

Figure 3.4 MMR Phase 1b – Agency in Governance



The actions taken to investigate this aspect followed the advice of leading authorities as set out in the commentaries on Tables 3.2 and 3.3 comprised the identification, analysis and recording of data from primary (QUAL + quan) sources (e.g. national curricular/MFL policies, minutes of national committees, HMIe Reports, Hansard and Scottish Government proceedings: see item (e) Data Sets of this section of the thesis for complete list), secondary sources (e.g. academic papers and books) (QUAL + quan), questionnaire responses (QUAL + QUAN) and interview responses (QUAL) to form an integrated view of agency in governance.

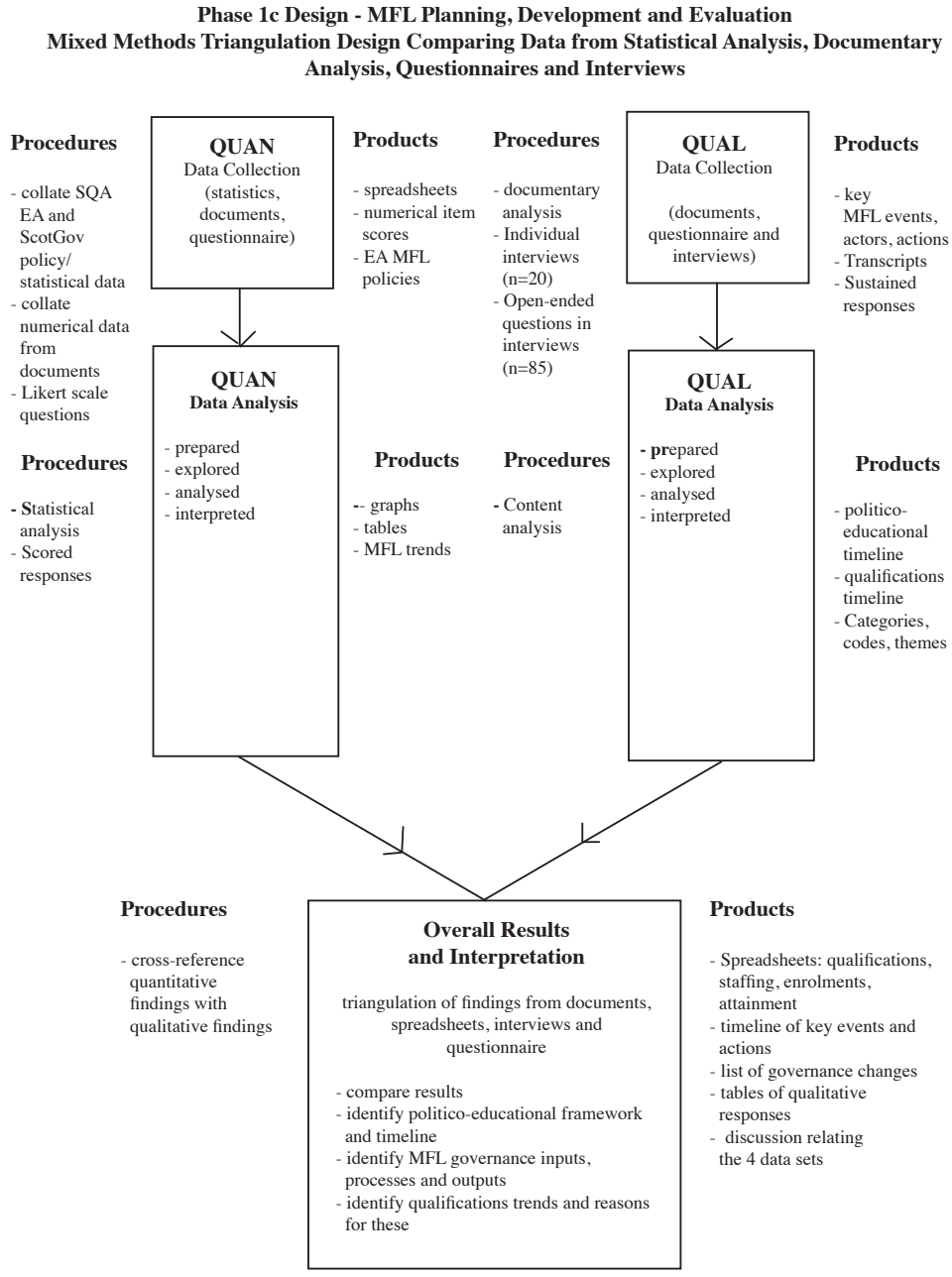
Data collection (see item (f) Data Collection) took place through three qualitative data collection/analysis processes (documentary analysis: seeking information on the elements of governance, the potential existence of a politico-educational govrnance cycle, the agency of individuals and/or groups and the impact of agency; analysis of open-ended questionnaire sections; analysis of responses to semi-structured interviews) and six quantitative processes (the capture and analysis of ratings for governance Action and Impact through the bespoke ‘governance wheels’ developed for this thesis; analysis of the results of Likert scale questions from the questionnaire on Influence, Control and Support in governance; capture and analysis of some more limited numerical data from documentary analysis on the tenure of elite actors, etc.). Data analysis (see item (h) Data Analysis) took place. The Governance Wheels, MS Word tables and MS Excel spreadsheets used to

manage the significant volumes of data are again described in (h) Data Analysis.

Further integration came from repeated topic-by-topic (see the sub-sections of Chapter 5 and the introduction to that chapter) triangulation of the outcomes of some or all of these processes to produce results which were carried forward to the second MMR phase for further integration with the results from Phase 1a, Phase 1c and the Governance Theory findings from Chapter 2.

Figure 3.5 illustrates **Phase 1c**, relating to research sub-questions 4 and 3, is concerned with identification of MFL planning, development and evaluation:

Figure 3.5 MMR Phase 1c – Governance of MFLs



The actions taken to investigate this aspect again followed the advice of leading authorites as noted with respect to Tables 3.2 and 3.3. These actions comprised the identification, analysis and recording of data on the governance of MFL research, policy, curricular status, developments and initiatives, evaluation and intervention in the light of evaluation and experience. Inputs to, and outputs from, MFL learning, teaching and assessment were also examined through acquisition and analysis of all enrolment and attainment data on SEB/SQA MFL courses from 1965 to 2013, all SEB/SQA data on availability of the various SCQF Level 3-7 courses from 1965 to 2014 and all available Scottish Government data on MFL teacher availability. The data sets concerned were drawn from primary documentation (QUAN + QUAL) sources (e.g. national and local policies and reports, minutes of national and local council committees, HMIe Reports, Hansard and Scottish Government proceedings: see item (e) Data Sets of this section of the thesis for complete list), primary statistical sources (QUAN + qual) (e.g. SEB/SQA results, course availability and teacher availability), secondary sources (again largely academic papers and books, but including some public presentations and one thesis) (QUAL + quan) and the questionnaire responses (QUAL) and interview responses (QUAL) to form an integrated view of MFL governance – structure, agency, culture - within and across the national, local authority and school levels.

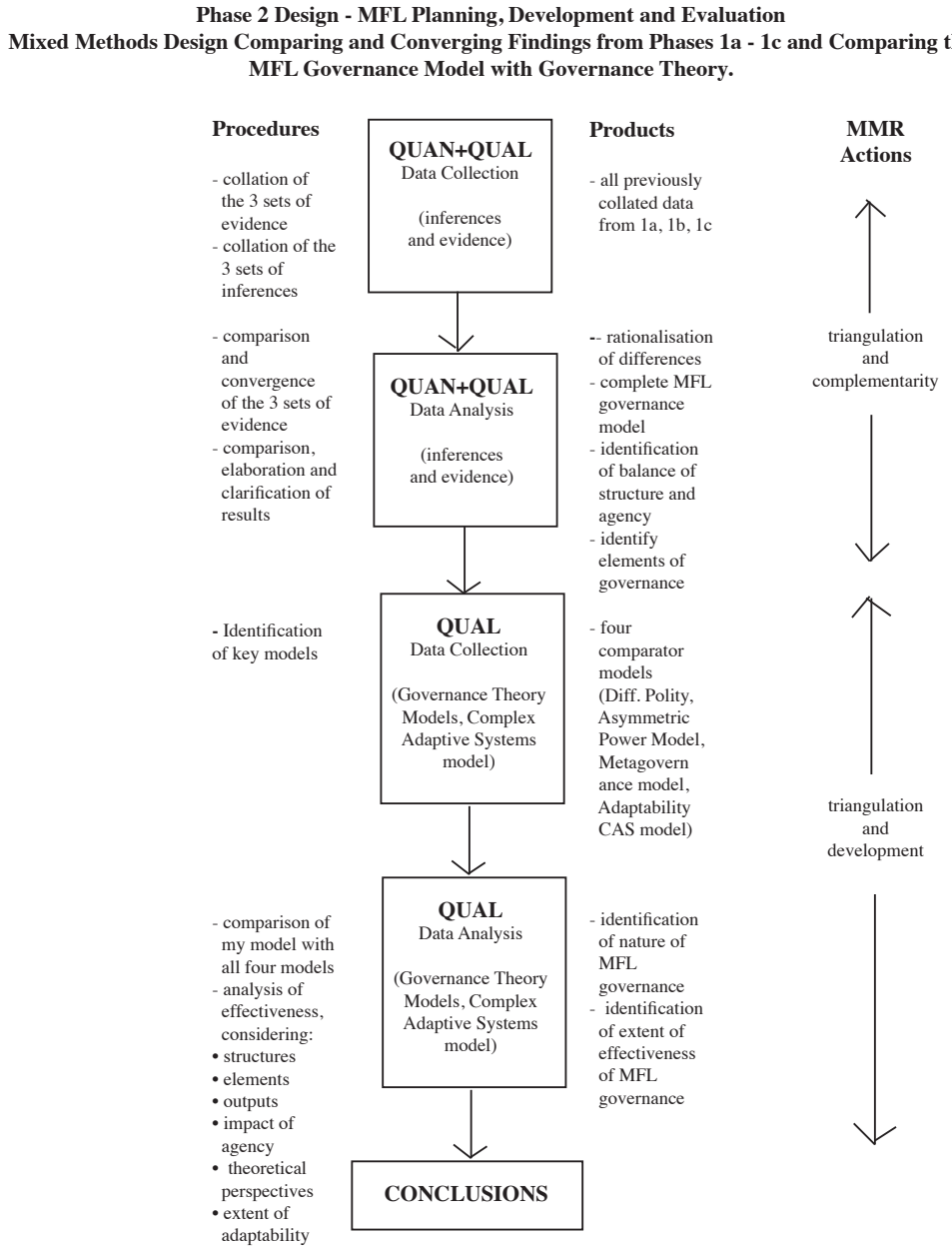
Data collection (see item (f) Data Collection) took place through three qualitative data collection/analysis processes (documentary analysis, analysis

of open-ended questionnaire sections and analysis of responses to semi-structured interviews) and six quantitative processes (statistical analysis of MFL learner enrolment data and MFL attainment data; analysis of teacher availability data; analysis of frequency of availability of MFL courses; analysis of aspects of the results of Likert scale questions from the questionnaire on Influence, Control and Support; some more limited numerical data from documentary analysis on relative strengths of MFLs, English, Classics, etc.). Data analysis (see item (h) Data Analysis) took place both during and after data collection. The findings from these processes are set out in Chapter 6.

As with Phases 1a and 1b, further integration came from repeated topic-by-topic (see the sub-sections of Chapter 6 and the introduction to that chapter) triangulation of the outcomes to produce results which were carried forward to the second MMR phase for further integration with the results from Phase 1a, Phase 1b and the Chapter 2 findings on Governance Theory and the governance of Scottish education.

Figure 3.6 illustrates **Phase 2** relates to the overall research question, although a final response to this is delivered by addressing the four sub-questions:

Figure 3.6 MMR Phase 2 – Integrating Findings from Phases 1a to 1c



This phase is concerned with developing a holistic picture of Scottish MFL governance and its effectiveness. The findings from Research strands 1a, 1b and 1c are compared in attempting to answer the four research sub-questions and the extent of convergence of these findings is assessed as part of a process of developing as comprehensive a '360-degree' view of each aspect of governance as is possible.

Both triangulation of the three sets of findings and complementarity (i.e. seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration or clarification of the results of one method with the results from the other(s)) (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007, p.115) are used in this section as the topic-by-topic results from Phases 1a-1c and from the Governance Theory findings in Chapter are considered and drawn together into an integrated narrative which seeks to answer the four research sub-questions and thus the main research question.

3.3.4 Methods

Both predetermined and emerging methods are used in this study. Predetermined methods included the creation of policy and development timelines, the use of a questionnaire containing Likert scale questions and other closed and open-ended questions for all governance actors sampled and the use of semi-structured, open-ended interviews with key and elite governance actors. Two further predetermined methods were employed. Statistical methods, albeit limited in their scope and not requiring a complexity of approach, were used to manage and analyse large volumes of data from

enrolments, attainment, teacher and qualifications data sets. Historical and documentary methods (Cohen *et al.,* 2011, pp.248-254) were used to identify, gather and analyses using data from legislative instruments, political and educational reports, national and local committee minutes and papers, HMIe and other evaluation reports, research reports, policy documents, implementation documents and other curriculum and qualifications material.

Two other methods emerged as the study progressed. Firstly, in the context of identifying the actions and impact of each of the three layers of governance, a new 'governance wheel' was developed to capture and display data provided by interviewees and questionnaires and, in comparing MFL governance with Governance Theory, a set of governance models and tools was used to test the nature and effectiveness of Scottish MFL governance.

3.3.5 Data Sets

Data was collected for the literature review and then throughout the first 18 months of the study, although some areas of data collection arose later in the study, prompted by earlier research findings. The data included:

1. Primary documentary sources (e.g. national and council policies, reports, minutes, national committee minutes and papers, official websites) on MFL curricular and qualifications development initiatives and also on national/local political (e,g, Hansard and Historic Hansard, council minutes

and policies) and educational policy development and implementation affecting MFL.

2. Primary statistical data and related documentary evidence on MFL qualifications (rationale, numbers and periods of availability), MFL course enrolments and MFL attainment (all SQA data from 1965 to 2013), as well as on numbers and languages of MFL teachers (Scottish Office/Executive/ Government statistical publications) and also on local authority uptake of MFL qualifications (largely from SQA data and HMI reports).
3. Secondary sources (academic papers, books and chapters in academic publications, research reports, (a few) theses). This included a limited quantity of research papers on Scottish MFL developments and a larger body on UK/European/relevant international developments; a focused selection from a very large set of papers, theses and texts on aspects of MFL teaching and learning (mostly at the micro level); a significant set of papers and texts on governance theory and, to a much lesser extent, on its application to an analytical examination of governance.
4. Questionnaire responses (closed questions, Likert scale questions and open-ended questions) from governance actors.
5. Interview responses (transcripts containing full text of responses to open-ended interview questions) from 40 ‘elite’ (in the sense that they either have a highly influential role, have made a highly significant contribution to MFL governance, have been influential and possess particular insight or have made a telling contribution within their layer) governance actors.

3.3.6 Data Collection

Data was collected from the sources, data sets and respondents previously described. A questionnaire, interview framework and some tools for data-collection and analysis were developed (see Appendices 5-6, Figures 4.2-4 and 5.3). As well as searching for primary documents and statistics and for secondary sources (mainly academic papers and books), I employed two main instruments to capture data from respondents. The first of these was a questionnaire (see Appendix 5) which was sent to respondents in MS Word format. I employed this method as it would enable me to provide respondents with a flexible format within which they could describe their experiences of governance. The questionnaire was anonymous and it was intended that it should take respondents no longer than 20 – 30 minutes as respondents were all meso or macro governance actors and discussions with trial respondents had suggested that half an hour was as long as they were likely to spend on such a task.

The questionnaire also enabled me to collect numerical data alongside information which was descriptive or explanatory. I used the Literature Review, my initial research and discussions with my five triallists to identify and sharpen the focus of the questions. The questions in the questionnaire originally came in four parts: some related to aspects of their specific field of governance (school, local authority or national activity), others related to power, influence and control over MFL governance, others to governance structures and the balance of structure and agency and, finally, some to the nature of the 'MFL problem'. A fifth area examining the extent and

effectiveness of governance agency and actions was added after reflection on initial trials (see Appendix 5).

The second instrument took the form of an outline for semi-structured Interviews (see Appendix 6). These were (with one exception) conducted on an individual basis. Common themes from the outline were employed in interviews but respondent-specific questions were also used to draw the greatest extent of relevant testimony from interviewees. This was important as some interviewees had unique, or almost unique, roles in their governance sub-layer and were thus of particular interest. Respondents' testimony was cross-checked wherever possible by testing it against others with similar roles.

Questionnaires were accompanied by a form enabling respondents who wished to take part to give consent for participation in the questionnaire and/or an interview and also to provide their contact information. This information was noted separately to the questionnaire and deleted before the analysis of questionnaire data to ensure anonymity. Paper copies of the questionnaire were made available on request. Questionnaires and interviews were managed in parallel with other data gathering and analysis tasks, by approaching a limited number of questionnaire recipients and two to four elite governance interviewees each month, thus allowing me to process the transcription of interviews and to integrate the considerable volume of data coming from these interviews and questionnaires without having to stop other research processes whose results were needed to inform other aspects of the study. Transcripts were created from shorthand notes: almost all interviewees

either accepted the transcript unchanged or made minor corrections (often adding some items of information and/or correcting minor mis-transcriptions on my part). Two interviewees did not return the transcript or respond to further communications – they are assumed to have accepted the transcript but to have been too busy to respond further. One pair of national layer interviewees requested deletions but then did not specify these or return the transcripts: they were assumed to have revised their views to acceptance.

3.3.7 Sampling

Once ethical clearance was received, data gathering from questionnaires and interviews commenced, although a prior 5-person trial had been carried out to test the instruments to be used with governance actors. Since my purpose in sampling governance actors was weighted towards gaining insight into MFL governance, rather than generalising to the full population of governance actors in Scottish education, I rejected a random sampling approach and adopted a purposive sampling approach. Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007, pp. 285-287) identify 19 different purposive sampling strategies available to MMR researchers, depending on the context. Given my need to gather the views of governance actors from different layers and sub-layers of the Scottish educational governance system, I adopted a Stratified Purposeful sampling strategy, permitting me to divide the sampling frame into strata relecting the national, local authority and school governance levels and their sub-layers and to choose a purposeive sample from each layer. Those chosen were, as Patton (1990, p. 169) recommends: ‘information rich’, playing current or recent

significant roles in governing Scottish education. However, unlike stratified sampling in probability sampling, the sizes of the strata are not necessarily directly proportional to their relative sizes in the population as a whole. The group sizes were chosen to generate appropriate breadth and depth of opinion within each group e.g. although the group of headteachers was the largest selected, partially reflecting their relative size within the governance population, the group size was actually chosen to permit headteachers to be chosen from several parts of the timescale, with differing views, backgrounds and experiences of MFL involvement.

Again following Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007, pp. 290-287) with respect to MMR sample sizes, I chose to interview 40 governance actors, ensuring that each of the national, local authority and school groups was over the recommended minimum of 12 interviewees. I also chose to provide questionnaires to 70 participants as this comfortably exceeded the relevant minimum numbers, allowing for a margin of non-returns. The selected actors were national politicians, civil servants, officers from national First and Second Triumvirate agencies, local politicians (particularly education conveners and vice-conveners), education directorate members, former MFL advisers, MFL development officers (CDOs and QIOs), headteachers (attempting to capture those known to be pro-MFL, believed to be neutral and believed to be unsupportive of MFLs), depute headteachers and principal teachers. Along with these, a smaller group of academic commentators, teaching union

leaders, parents and teachers was selected. Table 3.5 shows the nature of the sample:

Table 3.5 Governance Actor Sample Structure

Layer	Category	Drawn from	Sample Codes	Notes
National	Political	Ministers (past or present), opposition spokespersons, MSPs	M0066 – M0075; M0088	3 did not respond.
National	Civil Service	Relevant Directorates and Teams	M0061 – M0065	
National	Agencies	SEB/SQA, SCCC, LTS, HMI, ES, GTCS officers	M0021 – M0030; M0086	
Local Authority	Political	Council Leaders, Education conveners and vice-conveners,	M0076 – M0080	2 did not respond.
Local Authority	Directorate	Directors, Depute Directors and Heads of Education; drawn from across authorities	M0011 – M0020; M0090	2 did not respond.
Local Authority	MFL / Curriculum Specialists	MFL Advisers, CDOs and QIOs; drawn from across authorities	M0001 – M0010	
School	Headteacher	With and without MFL background; drawn from across authorities	M0031 – M0050; M0087	2 did not respond.
School	Other Leaders	DHTs, Fac. Heads and PTs MFL; drawn from across authorities	M0051 – M0055; M0089	1 did not respond.
Other	Unions	From EIS, SSTA, SLS	M0081 – M0082	
	Parents, employers	Parent organisations, employer organisations.	M0083 – M0085	2 did not respond
	Academic Commentators	Professors / lecturers in education	M0056 – M0060	2 did not respond.

Notes:

- Potential respondents are numbered M0001 – M0090.
- 90 potential respondents were identified: an initial 85 plus 5 identified during discussions with respondents.
- Of the 90, 70 were selected to receive questionnaires and agreed to participate. The remaining 20 were held in reserve, largely due to difficulties in establishing effective communications.
- Of the 70 respondents who agreed to complete a questionnaire, 56 responded: an 80% response rate.

National/local politicians were chosen to represent all parties (although not all responded) and to have some experience of education. In the case of current and recent ministers, most declined, usually quoting some form of the 'Radcliffe principles' (Ozga & Gewirtz, 1994, pp.124-125). Civil servants were selected to have experience of managing education and, possibly, MFLs; national agency officers to have experience of curriculum and/or qualifications leadership (with some having experience of leading relevant national agencies/committees and/or advising Ministers); local politicians to have experience of membership/leadership of an education/lifelong learning committee. All of these were asked to clear their involvement with superiors and to indicate that they had permission to be part of the interview process. Local authority MFL officers were drawn partially from the regional adviser era and partially from the subsequent unitary authority era (with some from both eras). The remaining groups – directorate members, headteachers and deputes - were chosen to provide a balance of direct and general involvement with MFLs and to contain members who are perceived by the educational policy community as "pro-MFL", "MFL-neutral" and "hostile to MFL". Again, appropriate stes were taken to clear the involvement of EA officers.

A further filter was placed on the local authority and schools groupings in that an attempt was made to involve at least one person from as many of the local authorities as possible. In the end the need to capture necessary specialisms partially overrode this with around 75% of councils being represented. The only category of council not sampled was that of island councils, where, due to

difficulties of identifying governance actors with significant involvement with MFLs rather than Gaelic, no MFL governance actors were interviewed or questioned. All other categories (urban, semi-rural, rural) were well represented. No council had more than four respondents (and this only occurred in a very few councils where a particular depth of expertise was to be found and could not be readily sourced elsewhere (see Appendix 4).

3.3.8 Data Analysis (P3)

Complex statistical work was not required in this study as several data sets contained the full population of data and it was necessary to generalise from a sample to a population. This was equally true of the respondent data where a non-probability sampling approach had been taken. That data required to be analysed but not generalised to a larger population: it merely reflects the views of those questioned. Cohen *et al.* (2011, pp. 604-606) would suggest the required statistical work was 'descriptive' rather than 'inferential'.

Quantitative data was analysed by conventional means: the three forms of average were all appropriately employed; ranges, percentages and trends were also considered. Statistical data was recorded and analysed through sets of spreadsheets containing raw data for individual MFL subjects and for all subjects at the various SCQF levels which were linked and manipulated to generate total MFL enrolments at different SCQF levels, total attainment by SCQF Level and by grade within that level and so averages and percentages were calculated and trends identified. Spreadsheets were also created to

manage the Likert scale data from the relevant questions of the questionnaire, permitting me to analyse means, modal scores and rank orders for all respondents and for the different strata. Likewise, governance wheel data were spreadsheeted to permit means, modal scores, patterns and rank orders for all respondents and for the different strata to be calculated or identified. Governance wheels for all respondents and for the different governance layers were resonstituted from the summary data output by the spreadsheet.

Qualitative data were organised, codified and analysed using a bespoke approach. Since my professional background is in computing, I chose not to adopt one of the commercial social research software packages to handle analysis of text, choosing instead to use MS Excel to configure my own set of arrays to handle the data. Two spreadsheets were created – one for the questionnaire data and one for interview data – and these were linked to a third results spreadsheet to permit analysis to be carried out drawing upon the data from one or both spreadsheets. This permitted me to compare and contrast the results deriving from the two instruments and to seek similarities and patterns. In the two data capture spreadsheets, sets of columns corresponded to specific themes within different questions, rows to different respondents and short quotations were entered in sets of cells available under each theme. Data were coded in two ways. Cells containing similar comments across respondents were colour-coded to make them stand out and thematic comments were numerically coded to allow me to observe the weight of opinion supporting given themes or sub-themes. A similar approach

was used to log findings from documentary analysis, with each entry logged by topic, name of source, page reference and several cells were reserved for short quotes or pointers to other forms of information. Cells were again colour-coded and numeric codes were used to quickly identify patterns arising from the documentary evidence

3.3.9 Presentation of Findings (P5)

My findings are presented in chapters 4 to 6, each keyed to a research sub-question, although all also provide insights into sub-question 3. Chapter 7 contains further findings derived from the integration of discrete findings from Chapters 4 to 6 merged with the results of applying the Governance Theory models and tools identified in Chapter 2. Graphical and tabular exemplification has been widely used to illustrate aspects of MFL governance. Timelines showing major educational and political changes and developments, including a master MFL timeline (incorporating all events and key data relevant to the governance of MFL), some pictorial exemplification of the structure of governance, of the elements of governance (and any patterns evident therein) and of changes in uptake and attainment in MFL courses were completed, enabling a more effective presentation of my findings. Beyond this thesis itself, aspects of my findings have been presented at three UK conferences in 2013 and 2014 and further aspects will be presented in a series of academic papers in appropriate research journals, presentations to academic and educational conferences and articles/ chapters in educational publications.

3.4 Strengths and Limitations

3.4.1 Validity, Reliability and Legitimation

Having elements of both qualitative and quantitative research, this mixed research study must consider both validity and reliability. The key issue is whether the findings of the study are of high quality or low quality. Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p. 48) suggest that validity in MMR studies be described as legitimation. Addressing Tashakkori and Teddlie's nine forms of legitimation (2006, as cited in Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, pp. 56-57), this study appears to have high legitimation. In this study, the full populations of SQA and Scottish Government statistical data on relevant qualifications and the relevant sets of curricular policies and HMI reports have been used and thus inferences drawn from them are well-founded, having also been largely endorsed by respondents and academic commentators, providing good Sample Integration, but there will necessarily be some issues where respondents do not agree with the sources. Inside-Outside legitimation is, however, high as respondents' views are mutually consistent in most cases and concur very well with statistical findings and to a large extent with research and the views of academic commentators. Weakness Minimisation is high as weaknesses in one approach are almost always covered by others in this study (e.g. areas where respondents differed have almost all been well-evidenced in academic commentaries, or have had statistical information to fill gaps). Sequential legitimation is not a significant problem as, throughout the study, quantitative and qualitative data are mixed on a topic by topic basis,

rather than sequentially building on one method with another. Conversion is high as both quantitative and qualitative methods have produced inferences which appear to be consistent to a high degree. Paradigmatic Mixing is positive within this study as Pragmatism fits well with Realism and with current Governance Theory. Multiple Validities are high as a large majority of the quantitative data comes from the entire population and qualitative data has been tested for consistency across layers and against published research and academic comment. Given the high degree of consonance amongst respondent views and between these views and statistics or other published material, Commensurability is also high. Political Legitimation appears strong as the results shared with respondents have almost universally been well received. Thus, considering all nine tests, legitimation appears to be very high within this study.

Like Sample Integration, Reliability is high as whole populations of statistical data (on learner enrolment for all MFL courses, attainment in all MFL courses, availability of MFL courses from SEB and SQA, but with a minority of results for availability of MFL teachers unavailable). The full set of all Scottish MFL reports and papers from the period 1962 to 2014 has been employed, all SEB, SED and SQA annual reports for the period have been accessed, along with the minutes of the Higher Still, Curiculum Flexibility, CoaMW, CfE and 1+2 steering groups (the last five national initiatives affecting MFLs. Likewise, the instruments used produced consistent results, both across different groups of respondents and at different times in the study.

3.4.2 Risks and Challenges

Interviewing the 'Elite'

The challenges of interviewing elite governance actors are well known and have been thoroughly covered by academic authorities. To the extent possible with individual respondents, I followed the methods and advice of previous authors (e.g. Ball, 1994b; Grek, 2011; McPherson and Raab, 1988; Ozga & Gewirtz, 1994; Walford, 1994) and attempted to implement their joint views of best practice in this study. Written questionnaire responses and transcripts proved to be very helpful. Many respondents made minimal changes to the transcripts and the response of 92% of those receiving and returning a transcript was that it had been 'accurate' or 'very accurate'. Three respondents asked for significant change: one added significant detail and two asked for significant deletions, although details of the deletions requested by the third respondent were never forthcoming and so the transcript has been used unchanged (but no specific quotes have been drawn from it). This has helped minimise inaccuracy on my part.

As with other researchers who have used the in-depth interview approach, there were a few interviews where I felt it more necessary than usual to have external validation of some key points. These usually related either to respondents' views of the quality of their own work or to views and attitudes attributed to others. If corroboration could not be located, the material was not

used except in a very few cases where the matter was crucial and could not be omitted, but these are noted in the main text. It was also disappointing that 15 respondents who agreed to complete a questionnaire did not send it back but the overall response rate was still high (80%). Since this is an anonymous process, care was taken not to print any view or quote which would identify an individual respondent. This unfortunately prevented several highly informative or insightful quotes from being employed in the thesis but the necessity of anonymity overrode this.

As noted, interviews were transcribed fully and sent to respondents for verification. Although this eliminates inaccuracy on my (and hopefully their) part, it does not fully resolve issues of potential self-aggrandisement, obfuscation, superficiality or memory failure. Wherever possible, I have cross-referenced any dubious testimony. There are limitations to this, however, as some respondents revealed details of meetings where no corroboration is possible. Where such situations arose, they have either been labelled clearly or left out and no significant finding is based on such evidence. Where a significant finding is drawn from a minority of published sources and/or respondents, this is labelled within the text. Almost all major findings drawn from respondents have the proportion involved clearly labelled to allow the reader to evaluate the weight of the finding and the HMIe conventions on the meanings of ‘a minority’, ‘a majority’, ‘most’ and ‘almost all’ have been adopted as part of this.

Methodological Issues

There are two issues here: the apparent complexity of the research design and whether Pragmatism is effectively used. The issues surrounding Pragmatism (and Realism) and the academic consensus about its validity were addressed in Section 3.2 (q.v.). The Research Design may appear complicated from the diagrams (Figures 3.2 – 3.6) but is reasonably straightforward, simultaneously analysing structure, agency, culture and the specifics of MFL governance to provide, to as great an extent as possible, a '360-degree' view of MFL governance. No such attempt has been made in Scottish education since McPherson and Raab in 1988.

Difficulties also lie in developing effective narratives linking the multiple aggregations of data, text and opinion and in developing tools to manage and summarise the volumes of quantitative and qualitative data. As noted elsewhere, new collection tools were created to give a concise picture of the effectiveness of governance (and governance actors' mutual opinions). I also developed bespoke tools (largely spreadsheets) to handle, process and summarise the significant volumes of qualitative data gathered for this study. The output from some of these is provided in Appendices 11-15. I have used a historical narrative to explain the evolutionange of educational governance structures in Chapter 4 and parallel narratives in Chapter 6 to bring together all the factors which bear upon MFL governance over the period.

In working through the Rationale and Research Design, I have attempted to provide justification for my MMR approach and for adopting Pragmatism as my paradigm. I have noted, however, that other paradigmatic approaches are possible.

Response Rates and Sampling Limitations

In the first two categories identified in this sub-section, my intent was to consider the entire population of data. This was fully achieved in the case of the SQA statistics. However, Scottish Government staffing data was only partially available but other sources provided some further data and thus a majority of years was available, allowing trends and patterns to be perceived. In the questionnaire, the first of the two structured purposive samples, 70 governance actors were selected, of whom 66 agreed to participate. The four non-participants were replaced by reserve governance actors from the same layers of governance (drawn from the original 90 and with approximately similar experience to the originals), providing 70 possible respondents. Of the 70, 56 sent back questionnaires. In the second purposive sample, the interview, 40 elite governance actors were selected from the first sample (of whom one later declined but was replaced by a substitute with similar experience).

Both strengths and limitations arise from the sampling processes. 56 reponses from, and 40 in-depth interviews with, key and elite governance actors (who are enabled by anonymity to state their views freely, assuming

they have answered honestly but see the previous sub-section on Interviewing the Elite) provide a significant addition to knowledge of educational governance. They were chosen purposively to be 'typical' of their governance level and sub-level and I have chosen them to provide differing views within these levels. I was careful to select, for example, some headteachers who were known to have MFL backgrounds and some without, also some who were perceived to be supportive of MFLs, some who were not perceived to be supportive and some whose stance was more neutral. However, in smaller strata this was harder and was at times governed by availability, particularly in the case of politicians, local and national. No claims are made about the representativeness of the interviewees, merely that all possible steps have been taken to ensure that their views have been accurately recorded and tested against each other and against other sources of data.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The University of Dundee monitors the ethical appropriateness of research carried out under its aegis through its University Research Ethics Committee (UREC). Before involving questionnaire respondents or interviewees, I applied to UREC for ethical clearance and received confirmation of their approval of my research. Throughout the study, I operated within the University of Dundee's School of Education, Social Work and Community Education Research Ethics Code of Practice. As part of the documentation provided to respondents, I provided confirmation that the study had received ethical approval from UREC.

As Creswell (2007, p. 47) suggests, awareness and thoughtful action are the keys to managing ethical issues. Only two significant ethical issues emerged within this this study. The first relates to the potential for interviewees from a small population to lose their anonymity and, since almost all are active governance actors at the national, local authority or school layer, potentially to be professionally compromised should their views fail to coincide with those of their superiors. The second issue relates to the potential for my own input to inappropriately influence the findings.

The issues for respondents from their involvement with this study relate to their membership of one of several small or very small governance groups, with some potential for exposure of their identity. All respondents were

offered, and all accepted, anonymity, making this a different study from that of McPherson & Raab (1988) and more akin to the work of Campbell (1999, 2000) on Devolved School Management. A single master list of respondents exists: it will be securely kept for no longer than 4 years (to permit me to conduct follow-up research) and then destroyed. As outlined in Section 3.3, 90 potential questionnaire recipients and interviewees were identified. From these, 70 were selected to form a purposive sample (see Table 3.5) reflecting the nature and complexity of the three nested hierarchies (national, local authority and school) and the five governance layers (national politicians and civil servants; national agencies, organisations and committees; local authority politicians, directors of education and advisers/QIOs; school leaders and the 'cloud' (see section 4.1)).

Further steps have been taken to ensure the anonymity of respondents. For example, following Campbell's (1999) approach in a parallel study of Devolved School Management, some indication of the category of respondent is given the first time their views are quoted in a chapter but this is not repeated and readers are asked to familiarise themselves with Table 3.5 to ascertain from which governance group respondents come. Respondents are banded in groups of 5, 10 or 20 e.g. local authority Advisers and Quality Improvement Officers occupt the M0001 – M0010 band. The appendices related to respondents' comments also contain a strip at the top identifying the nature of the respondent and the groups of respondents may be seen here as well as in table 3.5. The most significant step taken to ensure anonymity has seen

some potentially significant quotes by respondents rejected for use in this thesis as the context of the quote might have revealed the identity of the respondent. Finally, with the agreement of two respondents (and their scrutiny of the amended quotes) certain of their speech patterns, which might have been recognisable to anyone knowing them, have been changed without affecting the sense or import of their words.

My own background, prior involvement and research stance were introduced in Section 3.1. My membership of more than one category within the examined governance groups could be a potential risk to the accuracy or 'reality' of the study. I have attempted to demonstrate throughout this chapter that appropriate approaches to social research have been taken. My personal involvement was one of several significant factors in the adoption of an MMR design to examine such a very diverse set of aspects of governance, including structure, agency, culture, the elements of governance, governance actors' views and statistical evidence on the inputs to, processes of and outputs from governance. This, supported by multiple triangulations of data at all stages of the enquiry formed the basis of an attempt to ensure that a rounded "360-degree" view of governance emerged. It would thus be extremely difficult, and obvious, had I attempted to distort, intentionally or otherwise, findings drawn from such multiple sources and/or data sets.

As this is an MMR study I am not required to take the objective, aloof standpoint of a Positivist study. Hopwever, as described in Section 3.1, I have

avoided (as much as is possible) contaminating the development of findings, limiting myself to contributing data in situations where my input was unique and to confirming or denying evidence presented only by a few in areas where I have specialist knowledge. This does not, however, ensure the removal of bias and thus further steps were taken to ensure that the instruments used were appropriate (and considered so by respondents) and that the findings seemed 'realistic' to respondents. The original questionnaire was drawn up after consultation with five triallists and five other governance actors from a range of backgrounds but not involved in the study. The 'governance wheel' elements and the outline for the set of semi-structured interviews were also tested on the small group not involved in the study. These steps were taken in order to minimise any means by which I might reduce the validity of the results by interfering with the instruments to produce outcomes which I might particularly espouse.

Given the balance of the findings, the extent to which respondents from different governance layers substantiated similar findings, the extent to which different instruments and different lines of enquiry led to similar findings and the high level of acceptance of these findings through retrospective member checking, I believe that I have not distorted the picture. This is important as my intention has been to assist the improvement of governance through understanding what has happened (and why), identifying good practice and informing the actions of future governance agents.

Chapter 4 Governance Structures in Scottish Education

This chapter presents findings on Scottish educational governance structures, related to the first research sub-question and aspects of the third.

The chapter considers stuctures from three related standpoints. In Section 4.1, the fundamental components of Scottish politico-educational governance are identified and analysed and the extent of their uniqueness in a UK context is established. In Section 4.2, a historical narrative is developed to illustrate the significant political and educational changes responsible for transforming the governance structures of Scottish education at all levels. In Section 4.3, respondents' views on the nature of governance structures are examined and then integrated with data from historical and documentary analysis to model the changing structures. The transformations experienced in all layers are examined and their impact on the nature and effectiveness of governance is considered. The roles of governance groups and individual governance actors within structures are examined and the linkages which differentially connect them are analysed.

Each section is completed by a short summary but Section 4.4 provides a holistic overview of these structural findings and considers the consequent issues.

4.1 Fundamental Aspects of Scottish Educational Structures

Parents bringing their first child to school might see Scottish education as having a solid, ordered, rather hierarchical structure with a long and successful history of providing high quality teaching and learning. The structure appears relatively compact and homogeneous, being situated in a small country and composed almost entirely (95%) (Paterson, 2003, Chapter 8) of a 'state' system linking national government, local government and schools, all operating, if not in complete harmony, then certainly in a joined-up manner. Permanency and solidity, however, are easier to justify in the 'snapshot' view of an inexperienced parent than over a timescale such as that of this thesis where, as I demonstrate in this chapter, the structure appears more fluid.

4.1.1 Identifying Governance Layers

Early in their opus on Scottish educational governance, MacPherson and Raab (1988, p.x) suggest that decisions about the curriculum, examinations and school organisation may be educational but are inherently linked to control and power and so to political policy, changes of governing party, the coming and going of administrative bodies and changes of political/administrative philosophy and style. This thesis builds on, and further exemplifies, such a view of Scottish education.

I suggest that there are five layers of educational governance, each with evolving internal structures, linked by increasingly complex, changing (see Figures 4.4 to 4.8) interrelations that constitute governance 'in the shadow of hierarchy' (Scharpf, 1997a, 1997b). Comprising national, local authority, school leadership and teacher layers (these latter two replacing McPherson and Raab's (1988, p.4) teacher layer) and, lastly, a more distant - although not necessarily by choice - and variably insubstantial 'cloud' of other governance actors including pupils, parents, unions, industrial/commercial organisations and further/higher education institutions. Each layer may contain hierarchies and/or networks, linking individuals and groups: some loosely connected, some more closely tied. These linkages both permeate and transcend layers, binding layers internally and to each other with degrees of strength and effectiveness that vary across time and due to individual interactions.

The basic components of the Scottish educational governance structure appear in Section 2.4. Much of McPherson and Raab's (1988) work concerned the upper layer of that structure - in Classical terms, the 'First Triumvirate' of Scottish educational governance, comprising the (then) Scottish Office politicians, the Civil Service and the Inspectorate – and their joint retention (1988, pp.29-31) of a centralist, although mutually challenging, hold on the levers of politico-educational power and policy. The First Triumvirate has striven to maintain that hold, despite the cost in terms of responsibilities and workload assumed, particularly during periods of

expansion (1988, pp.32-33). McPherson and Raab suggest the most significant price paid by the three came, following severe expansionist pressures, with the establishment of a powerful set of national agencies, a 'Second Triumvirate', comprising the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB, later SEB and, by amalgamation, SQA), the General Teaching Council (later GTCS) and the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (later SCCC and, by amalgamation, LTS and then Education Scotland). These agencies, along with the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET, later amalgamated with SCCC) and the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE), as well as subject-specific Central Committees and committees of principals of Scottish universities and colleges, reduced the burden of work and responsibility borne by the First Triumvirate at the cost of diminished control and increased contention.

The relative transience of many of these agencies exemplifies the lack of permanence of governance structures. It also suggests, given the majority (30/56) respondent view that 'agency trumps structure – always' (M0081), that First Triumvirate actions have driven the evolving (or perhaps, given the findings of this chapter, revolving) nature of structure within Scottish education and also that the balance between needing/valuing these agencies and controlling them has fluctuated. In turn, these fluctuations raise questions about the nature of First Triumvirate politico-educational vision, as the agencies 'spun off' from the SED and Inspectorate in the 1960s are being slowly reabsorbed.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the First Triumvirate controlled educational policy and governance without real difficulty since, until 1929 (Fairley, 1998), other governance layers, including the local political governing bodies, were scattered and largely ineffectual, with two exceptions: the universities (although partially controlled by the SED through their acceptance of the Leaving Certificate as their entry requirement (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.43)) and, from 1929, the larger county/city authorities (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.31). The 1300 bodies (Scottish Local Government Information Unit, 1995, p.24) responsible for schools until 1872 had not meaningfully influenced SED or the Inspectorate but their replacement, firstly by independent School Boards (1872), then by 38 (later 37) directly-elected bodies (1918) (Fairley, 1998), then 430 town and 35 'county' (and some city/bi-county) councils (1929), then twelve Regional Councils (1975) and finally 32 (latterly, 31) unitary authorities (1996), has repeatedly altered the balance of power. It might be considered that the model has changed too frequently, every 26 years on average, or that the pattern of oscillations (1300 -> 38 -> 465 -> 12 -> 32) to date could be interpreted to suggest a possible further change to very few governing bodies, possibly after the independence referendum in 2014.

Teachers, McPherson and Raab's third layer, began as a collection of individuals, susceptible to pressure by employers and inspectors, although this improved with the founding of the Educational Institute of Scotland in

1847. The EIS only assumed a trades union role in 1971 but had increasingly filled the teacher representation role at negotiating tables and, with the imminent establishment of a strong and increasingly stable secondary sector after the Second World War, was joined (or seceded from) by the Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association (SSTA) in 1944. However, I identify headteachers and other school senior leaders as a new third layer, relocating teachers to the fourth layer. Although originally (and still partially) represented by the main teaching unions, school leaders eventually developed separate organisations in the secondary sector (1930s) and the primary sector (1970s) and have been strengthened (arguably unintentionally) by neo-liberal reform in the 1980s and more recently by greater unity and a clearer understanding of their strategic governance roles. This separation of headteachers and deputes from teachers was not particularly supported by McPherson and Raab (1988), perhaps due to the date of their study, nor by Paterson (2003). However, it is upheld in the Bryce and Humes series (1999, 2003, 2008, 2013). As I demonstrate in this and subsequent chapters, it is an essential distinction as, in terms of governance, headteachers and their immediate colleagues are not simply classifiable as 'local authority officers' (but see Campbell (1999, p.412) for a Directorate view) or 'teachers', as the appearance of school boards from 1988, devolved school management (DSM) from 1993, the weakening of councils from 1996 (and again, due to financial pressures, from 2008-09) and, finally, the significant loosening of curricular regulations in Circular 3/2001 have provided them with a much greater degree of autonomy.

Although strategic in nature, McPherson and Raab's study nevertheless takes a long time (p. 433 of 501) to mention the fifth layer, the 'cloud' of governance organisations and agents: parent bodies, pupil councils and parliaments, employer groups and trades unions, who, although representing many of the key players in education, are neither well nor consistently represented within the equations of power and governance (as verified, for example, by respondents M0001, M0013, M0016, M0021, M0043, M0050, M0081 – interviewees from a range of national, authority and school contexts). In their view, the much-speculated upon (e.g. Fairley, 1998; Ozga, 1999; Paterson, 1998) arrival of a Scottish Executive/Government which it was hoped would bring governance closer to the people, and so to themselves, has done little to affect the complexity or exclusivity of governance other than to replace the Scottish Office with a specifically Scottish governing body and, recently, to move away from the optimism of the post-devolution period (Arnott & Ozga, 2011) to re-emphasise central control (see Chapter 5).

Together, these organisations, groups and individuals populate the Scottish educational structure and their views, assumptions, interrelations and actions form the educational governance framework. Commentators on Scottish education (including Bryce & Humes, 1988, 2003, 2008, 2013; Humes, 1986, 2006; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Paterson, 2003) generally subscribe to a layered governance model. My analysis of Scottish educational structure suggests a significant degree of complexity and thus, in attempting to come to

an understanding of this, I begin by establishing here the sub-structures of the five layers, then move on in section 4.2 to consider structural changes which have happened (and continue) within and across them and so depict in section 4.3 an evolving overarching hierarchy of layers, networks and linkages within and across governance layers.

Integrating the results of documentary analysis and the views of respondents, Table 4.1 defines educational governance layers and the principal components of their sub-structures. My findings suggest the main governance layers are largely in a state of change, to greater or lesser extents, whereas the 'cloud', whether because of impotence, disinterest or contentment, remains much as it has been for some time. Abbreviations are extensively used in the table: those not included on page xv of this thesis are:

- CDO Curriculum development Officer
- CISS Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools
- LLL Life-Long Learning
- QIO Quality Improvement Officer
- SALT Scottish Association of Languages Teachers

Table 4.1 Layers and Sub-Structure Elements of Scottish Educational Governance

Layer	Elements	Sub-Elements	Status: Stable/Evolving
National	Political	▪ Governments ▪ Political Parties ▪ Ministers	Evolving Evolving Fairly stable
	Administrative	▪ Civil Service ▪ CS Directorates ▪ CS sub-directorates	Stable Evolving Evolving
	Agencies	▪ HMI/HMIe/ES ▪ SCEEB/SEB/SQA ▪ CCC/SCCC/LTS/ES ▪ SCRE ▪ SCET/LTS ▪ SCILT and CISS	Evolving and subsuming Evolving Subsumed Ceased Subsumed Evolving
Local Authority	Political	▪ County/Regional/ Unitary Councils ▪ Education Authorities ▪ Political Parties ▪ Corporate Management Team ▪ Education/LLL Committee ▪ Conveners ▪ Councillors	Evolving Evolving Evolving Fairly stable but decreasing Evolving: some uncertainty re future As per committee Stable
	Directorate	▪ Director/equivalent ▪ Head of Education ▪ Other Directorate members ▪ Advisers/CDOs /QIOs	Evolving Fairly Stable Evolving but decreasing Disappearing
School	Senior Leaders	• HT/DHT professional associations • Headteacher • Depute HT	Evolving Evolving Stable
	Middle Managers	• Faculty Head • Principal Teachers (Subject and Guidance)	Evolving Evolving
The 'Cloud'	Families/ Customers	• Pupils • Parents	Stable Stable
	Teachers	• Trades Unions • Organisations • Individuals	Stable; influence variable (e.g. SALT) Evolving Stable
	Industry/ Commerce	• Employer organisations • Local companies	Fairly stable Fluctuating
	Academic	• Universities • Colleges • Teacher Training Institutions	Fairly stable Evolving Subsumed
	Other	• National Language agencies	e.g. the Goethe Institute Stable

4.1.2 Uniqueness within a United Kingdom Context

The relationship between the wider UK governance structure and the structure of Scottish educational governance must be considered to ascertain whether there may be a sixth, UK-wide layer of governance. Although the 'lad o' pairts' and 'democratic intellect' aspects of the Scottish educational myth (Davie, 1961; McPherson & Raab, 1988) are not central to an examination of educational structure in Scotland, another part of that Scottish educational self-view, the 'uniqueness of Scottish education', is a significant context. McPherson and Raab (1988, p.x) suggest that Scottish educational policy has 'been made by its own cast of characters, in its own setting and, for the most part, with its own script as well. Knox (1953, pp.241-242) records that there had been separate (although often coordinated) legislation for Scottish and English education since 1870. As Raffe (2004, p.1) indicates, 'the distinctiveness of Scottish education … provided a pragmatic case for administrative devolution long before the democratic case was embodied in the legislative devolution of 1999'.

Unlike England and Wales, Scotland quickly developed a national education system through the Education Act of 1496 and Knox's First Book of Discipline in 1560. Independent until 1603, Scotland retained its separate legislative, religious and educational processes until the Union of Parliaments in 1707. However, the Act of Union preserved considerable 'local autonomy' (Parry,

1987; Anderson, 2008), including separate legal, religious and educational systems. As identified in Chapter 2, the eventual appearance of the Scottish Office, Executive and Government, with their attendant agencies and procedures, provided an increasingly divergent set of organisations and linkages which hindsight might suggest would have inevitably developed in a separate way from the rest of the UK. However, as section 4.2 identifies, this process has not been a simple process of 'drifting apart': as Anderson (1985, p.460) says, 'England was notable for the absence or late development of a state system of education, but Scotland came closer to the continental pattern in that it had a relatively uniform national system whose parts were linked to each other'. English secondary education adopted a state-private dichotomy from the nineteenth century, with the middle and upper classes largely opting for private schools, while working class education came initially from philanthropic support and, ultimately, the state. In Scotland, however, the private sector was always very small (Grek, Ozga & Lawn, 1999, p.9; Paterson, 2003, p.141) and the grant-maintained sector faded after 1965 (Paterson, 2003, pp.140-141). Despite these significant differences, the post-Second World War aspiration for a better future represented a major unifying feature across the UK and led to a lengthy period of cross-party (and cross-border) consensus on public services in general, with parallel north-south educational initiatives. Eventually, democratisation of education (Paterson, 2003, p.3) through comprehensivisation (McPherson & Raab, 1988, pp.373-400), Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA) (Woodin, McCulloch & Cowan, 2013), increased access to qualifications on both sides of the border

and the accompanying pressures of that expansion would end the consensus and lead education to a less stable (and again divergent) future.

Local government also differed in Scotland and England, as Malcolm Green, a noted spokesman for local authority control of education, indicated: 'It is sometimes said of the English system of education that it is "a national service locally administered". That is a definition of the governance of education which would be strongly resisted by councillors and officials in Scottish local authorities' (Green, 1999, p.146). Green's view, often echoed by past and current Scottish local authorities, is that in Scotland we have a local education system responding appropriately to national policy developments, but not nationally controlled. Tensions exist, however. Difficulties between authorities and the First Triumvirate arose as early as 1892 when SED's plans to centralise control of secondary provision were rejected (Anderson, 1983, pp.211-212). The situation worsened in the 1920s as authorities opposed selection at age 12 and disputed membership of the first Advisory Council (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.48). These battles led (1988, p.47) to a 'departmental distrust of local control often bordering on contempt' (1988, p.47) and so to a determination within SED to keep local councils and quasi-autonomous bodies such as the Advisory Council under close control. Despite maintaining a tight grip for twenty years, the SED ultimately failed with the combination of post-war expansion and the 1947 Report of the Sixth Advisory Council, having (eventually) to concede the direction of educational development, an expansion of schools, teachers and qualifications and a

comprehensive secondary system. As a fallback position, it created a Second Triumvirate (see Section 4.3) through which to remotely control aspects of educational governance. This set the scene for the struggles of the 1980s and 1990s when both agencies and local councils became powerful enough, and councils were sufficiently politically opposed, to contend directly with the Department for a time.

Keir Bloomer (1999, p.158), a highly knowledgeable observer of Scottish education, suggests local authorities *theoretically* have the freedom Green described but, realistically, are obliged to conform to a national agenda by a combination of national political control, SQA's qualifications monopoly and, until recently, curricular guidelines and ring-fenced funding, leaving them with little room for manoeuvre. Local authority, national agency and trades union respondents (e.g. M0001, M0003, M0004, M0015, M0016, M0021, M0023, M0026, M0027, M0029, M0049 and M0081) suggest that national control has intensified under the majority SNP administration (with three of them raising 'bullying' in this context). Most headteacher respondents (86%) expressing a view on this issue supported the centralism aspect of this.

Although these changes largely happened in response to Scottish issues, pressures and needs, there are frequent instances of UK/Scottish parallel developments: too many to be coincidental. There are obviously superficial structural similarities – a national political/civil service/agency layer, a local authority layer, a school leadership layer and a teacher layer – although their

workings and underlying power balances are different. McPherson & Raab (1988) extend this, pursuing a theme of 'British experience realised in a particular Scottish form' (1988, p.x) through to the end of their period of study, commenting on the similarity and parallel timing of policy development and implementation across the UK during the Scottish Office era. Jones (2003, p. 156) talks of the 'master discourse of educational reform' across the countries of Britain, suggesting that 'the central dynamic of educational change in post-war Britain, especially since 1979, has been English' (2003, p.3), seeing the neo-Liberal Thatcher/Major governments and the New Labour NPM project which followed as the defining engines of educational change, albeit strongly contested and amended within Scotland (Alexiadou and Ozga, 2003; Ozga, 1999, 2000, 2002), particularly in the case of the Conservative initiatives. Until (and occasionally after) devolution, Scottish legislation often followed equivalent English legislation, although not necessarily following an identical pattern. For example, the Parental Choice legislation in Scotland (Education (Scotland) Act, 1981) gave greater rights to parents than the Education Act (1980) in England and Wales. There is evidence that this synchronicity affected MFLs with similar timings in Scotland and England for initiatives in the earlier half of this study's timescale e.g. the initial MLPS project, the introduction of 'drill and practice' approaches, the criticism of the early MLPS initiatives, the introduction of 'realistic' teaching strategies and materials.

Although previous research (e.g. Alexiadou & Ozga, 2002; Arnott, 2007; Arnott & Munn, 1994; Clark & Munn, 1997; Humes & McKenzie, 1994; Ozga,

2002) understandably sees political and societal changes in England and Scotland as generating increasing separation of their educational pathways, largely due to Scottish 'resistance' to the Thatcher and Forsyth initiatives, there have recently been parallel initiatives, including an English attempt to 'copy' *Curriculum for Excellence* in the period before the coming of Michael Gove in 2010, as well as the reestablishment of primary languages and the appearance of Chinese language courses. The impact of these competing change processes – to develop a UK-wide system or to diverge to meet purely Scottish needs - on governance structures (and agency), as well as the possibility of increasing central control, does not suggest a sixth UK-wide governance layer but the parallel developments are taken into account in the following section which constructs from the sources consulted a historical narrative of the evolution of educational governance structures in Scotland.

SUMMARY

The basic structure of Scottish educational governance has:

- Three hierarchical structural levels – national, local authority and school, although all levels have significant internal sub-structures.
- Five layers of governance actors – national, local authority, school leaders, teachers and 'the cloud'.
- Experienced significant changes during the timescale of the study
- Experienced difficulty in maintaining capacity at some levels.

The United Kingdom context is not a significant factor because:

- A separate system was maintained by the Act of Union (1707).
- The Scottish system is much more uniform than the English (95-96% state comprehensive schools).
- The role of local government is different in Scotland, although declining.
- The Thatcher/Forsyth era led to increasing resistance to "English" initiatives.
- Devolution has led to increasing divergence from the rest of the UK.

4.2 Changing Governance Structures in Scotland: 1945-2014

4.2.1 A Historical Narrative of Politico-Educational Change

The findings in this section are formulated as a historical narrative of the structural changes brought about by national and/or transnational government action, local political action and/or processes of education policy change, dividing the timescale covered by this thesis (and the immediately preceding years) into three periods:

1. 1945-1978: Post-war Consensus
2. 1979 to 1998: Neo-Liberalism and New Public Management
3. 1999 to date: Devolution, Local Government Decline and Centralism.

Table 4.2 illustrates the key changes which have affected governance structures and the implications of these changes are then discussed in the sub-sections following the table. As the table illustrates, many of the structural and other changes happening in the first two-thirds of the period had their roots in key recommendations and decisions made in immediate post-war years. Significant events before 1962 are therefore included in Table 4.2 and in subsequent discussion.

Table 4.2 Political and Educational Changes Impacting on the Structure of Scottish Educational Governance.

Year	National Political Change	Local Political Change	Educational Change
1945			Beginning of universal secondary education
1946			Beginning of era of educational expansion
1947	ROSLA (to 15)		Advisory Cttee. Report on Secondary Education
1951	SED responds (negatively) to the 1947 Report and ignores structural change suggestions		SCET established; junior and senior secondaries consolidated
1952			Advisory Council suspended
1957			Advisory Council reactivated
1959	Colleges granted greater autonomy over teacher training		Advisory Cttee. Sub-committee reports on Qualifications
1961			Advisory Council suspended again
1962			O Grade introduced
1964	UK Labour government elected		HMI surrenders responsibility for exams; SCEEB established; pressure on system due to exam uptake
1965	beginning of democratic reform of education; Circ. 600 issued on comprehensivation		CCC established; GTC established; HMI surrenders responsibility for teacher certification
1966			Comprehensivisation begins: significant changes to nature of secondary education
1968		Authorities begin to appoint Advisers	
1969	Wheatley Commission on Local Government reports		
1970	UK Conservative government elected		
1971			EIS becomes a trades union
1973	Local Government Act 1973 implements modified Wheatley proposals		
1974	UK Labour government elected		
1975		Regional Councils, Edn. Authorities established; COSLA established	35 county education authorities replaced by 12 regional/island council education authorities; School Councils established
1976	ROSLA (to 16)		SCCC takes control of Central Subject Committees; end of chronic teacher shortage

Political (national and local) and Educational Changes (continued)

1977			Significant Teacher surplus
1979	UK Conservative government elected (Thatcher)	Beginning of anti-Conservative resistance by many regional councils; virtual end of grant-aided funding	secondary population peaks; end of era of expansion
1981	Beginning of financial stringency (until 1997)		
1982			End of selective schools
1984	Beginning of teachers' dispute		
1987	Michael Forsyth becomes Scottish education minister; end of teachers' dispute		SCCC structure reviewed; Central Subject Committees abolished; School Boards established (from School Councils)
1992		Beginning of 'period of distraction' due to coming council changes	
1993			SCCC reviewed again.
1995		'Year of survival'	
1996	H Still postponed to 1997	Unitary Councils and Education Authorities begin; second 'year of survival'	
1997	UK Labour government elected (Blair); Devolution referendum; H Still postponed to 1999	Advisers largely disappear; end of remaining grant aid	
1999	Devolution: Lab/Lib coalition elected; Scottish Executive (Dewar) now responsible for education		
2000	SQA crisis		LTS established (from SCCC and SCET); SQA established (from SEB and SCOTVEC)
2001			HMIe becomes an executive agency; TP21 changes school management structures; Circ. 3/2001 greatly increases HT control of curricular provision
2003	Funding for SCRE withdrawn.		
2007	SNP minority Scottish government (Salmond) elected		Parent Councils established (from School Boards) with diminished powers
2009	Beginning of severe financial stringency		
2011	SNP majority Scottish government (Salmond) elected	First shared education service in Stirling and Clacks.	Education Scotland formed (from HMIe and LTS)
2014	?	?	?

4.2.2 Post-War (1945-78): Consensus, Expansion and Growing Contention

The inter-war vision of a better future for Scottish children, expressed in the 1936 Education (Scotland) Act, was largely enacted through the rapid post-war expansion of secondary education (Paterson, 2003, p.129). The post-war political consensus enabled a largely official-led (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.31) implementation of this vision, providing new schools, courses, qualifications and many new teachers. Expansionist pressures on the educational system were generated by the post-war 'baby boom', by Comprehensivisation and by ROSLA (to 15 in 1947 and 16 in 1976), creating school building problems (partially due to a post-war shortage of building materials (Paterson, 2003)), teacher recruitment issues (especially in the West (Watt, 1989)), motivational issues associated with under-preparation for teaching new pupil audiences (Paterson, 2003, pp.138-139) and the two-tier secondary system and, lastly, pupil 'wastage' due to truancy, poor motivation and qualifications issues (2003, pp.131, 142-144).

Structurally, these expansionist issues pressed in on HMI and the civil service with their multiple powers and growing workloads, slowly eroding their ability to govern Scottish education. This was used as a reason for, the slow response to the 1947 Advisory Council Report whose radical agenda might not have been welcomed even in a quieter period by the inherently cautious SED (Paterson, 2003, p.130) but was certainly unwelcome in the

circumstances pertaining. The Sixth Advisory Council produced a document whose principal recommendations were slowly enacted in the period up to the millennium (Paterson, 2003), causing further concern and workload among the First Triumvirate. It was also the Advisory Council (in its eighth iteration) which, despite having been suspended by SED from 1952 to 1957 to avoid further radical proposals and to deny vocal educationalists a platform (Paterson, 2003, Chapter 8), finally caused the governance structure to buckle. Although reduced in size by SED, one of its three sub-committees produced a paper (SED, 1959) recommending reform of the qualifications system to meet the needs of the significantly increased numbers entering certificate courses (from 8,444 in 1949 to 18,562 in 1961 (Paterson, 2003, p. 133)) after abolition of the Group Certificate in 1950.

The subsequent replacement of the Lower Leaving Certificate by the Ordinary Grade in 1962 precipitated the creation of a 'semi-independent' (Paterson, 2003, p. 133; SED, 1963) body, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB), to handle anticipated increases in examination workload, with HMI relinquishing control over examinations from the 1965 diet. This, aided by the Inspectorate's waning influence after HMSCI Brunton's retiral (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.31), provided a catalyst for radical reorganisation with two further agencies, the General Teaching Council (GTC) (UK Government, 1965) and the Consultative Council on the Curriculum (CCC) appearing in 1965 to control teacher accreditation/discipline and the curriculum respectively. McPherson and Raab suggest that: 'it was clear to

the Department that it could no longer resist the implications of expansion, and that it must reconstruct its relations with the wider education system' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.xvii). From the SED viewpoint, the 'antagonism' (1988, p.255) of the Advisory Council, re-suspended in 1961, was removed at a stroke, (although never formally abolished) but the subject-based Central Committees – logically part of the curriculum agency - 'floated free' until subsumed by CCC in 1976.

The three agencies - the Second Triumvirate - were established by a First Triumvirate unwilling to surrender control or influence over Scottish education but dragooned by sheer pressure of events (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.288, 293, 323) and this may well explain later difficulties experienced by all agencies. Agencies' operational conditions were written to place them in the national layer, permitting the First Triumvirate to remotely (or, at times, directly) control their workings and decisions, although the increasingly challenged Inspectorate (McPherson & Raab, 1988, pp.263-4) struggled to achieve that control. That two of the three still exist *may* be an expression of pluralism or democratic input to education but may also reflect a continuing workload beyond the capacity of the First Triumvirate in the areas concerned. However, the existence of the third, the curricular agency, seems to have caused recurring problems for the First Triumvirate with frequent reviews (and eventual replacement) of the Advisory Council, SCCC and LTS. Why was this? As McPherson and Raab suggest, 'part of the answer is that memories are long, but the opportunities for action infrequent' (1988, p.255). Each of the

curricular agencies at various times opposed or appeared to ignore the SED's received wisdom. Contention is not usually met with immediate disbandment as the Civil Service and Inspectorate do not operate so overtly but opportunities appear as politicians or senior civil servants seek to change/improve structures, cut costs or present an image of progress and improvement. As a result, one curricular agency was repeatedly put into abeyance and ultimately left in limbo, the second was repeatedly reviewed to make it carry out the role intended by the First Triumvirate and ultimately both the second and third were subsumed into more broadly-based (but not necessarily larger) bodies established to more closely follow the pathway required by the First Triumvirate. It is also worth noting that the two smaller agencies, the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE), taken over by the First Triumvirate from its creators, ADES and the EIS, and the Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET), established in 1951 to advise the First Triumvirate on the potential of technological innovations, likewise disappeared, thus returning central direction of the curriculum, ICT and educational research to the First Triumvirate, although the existence of the SQA compromises full curricular control.

Two further structural changes occurred during this period, one with clear significance for the governance of Scottish education and the other a seemingly lesser event, but which presaged considerable disruption to developments, both in MFLs and across the curriculum, throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The first change derived from the Wheatley Commission on Local

Government in Scotland, resulting in the ending of the long tradition of town and county councils and the replacement of 430 (Hansard, Lords Sitting, 14 October 1969,) councils of various types and sizes through the Local Government Act, 1973 by a new two-tier system with a ‘strategic’ tier of 12 bodies (nine regional councils and three island authorities) and a lower tier of 53 ‘district’ authorities.

Significant concerns greeted Lord Wheatley’s report when published in 1969, principally that the recommended 7 regions and 37 districts were too few, the ‘West Region’ (far) too large in terms of population and the ‘Highlands and Islands Region’ too large in terms of area. Subsequent negotiations produced significant changes, not least for the governance of Scottish education, as the West Region was further enlarged to become Strathclyde Region, three small island authorities were split from Highlands and Islands Region to form Island Councils for Shetland, Orkney and the Western Isles and successful lobbying by local interests rescued Fife and the Borders from partition between larger neighbours. Hansard for the period from 1969 to 1973 shows that, although agreeing that education was a ‘strategic’ service and thus belonged to regions rather than district councils, little consideration of how this would function was carried out, although Wheatley himself had noted that education was ‘by far the largest single item of expenditure that falls on local government’ (HMSO, 1969, p.86).

His commission felt that to achieve successful leadership and support of education, 'manifestly education authorities ought to be large' (1969, pp. 92-93), identifying an ideal population size of between 150,000 and 500,000. However, the outcome of the national debate on Wheatley produced authorities ranging from around 20,000 citizens in the smallest island authority to 2,500,000 in Strathclyde (Fairley, 1998, p.62). Although neither Wheatley nor the Scottish Office favoured the establishment of Strathclyde (HMSO, 1969, p.94; McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. 488), the creation of very large and very small regions (see Appendix 7) went ahead to appease various interests, not least a desire to head off a devolved assembly. As the devolutionist Labour MP, John Mackintosh, asserted, 'The Wheatley two-tier pattern was devised as an alternative to an Assembly' (Drucker, as cited in Fairley, 1998, p.63). In that purpose it succeeded for, as Fairley (1998, p.63) suggests, it would have been extremely difficult for a Scottish assembly to have co-existed with a group of large authorities, one of which served half the population. The ultimate impact of these decisions became apparent in the next time period but, against a background of district-regional friction and increasing public criticism, it is worth noting here Macbeth's words in the Scottish Government Yearbook of 1984 that: 'It is difficult for the citizen not to regard our education authorities as somewhat remote and faceless' (MacBeth, as cited in Fairley, 1998, p. 63). Clearly, difficulties lay in wait.

The second change was to the constitution of the EIS which, founded as a 'professional association', had slowly moved to lead teachers' salaries and conditions negotiations. Given these responsibilities, the pro-Labour (and Liberal) stance of many of its leading officers and members, memories of the teachers' strike of 1961 and the fluctuating national political situation, the Institute took the then-controversial decision in 1971 to become a formal trades union. Although not evident in the short term, the impact of this changed role on interrelations within Scottish educational governance structures would be clearly seen in the coming years.

All of these bodies were, and are, linked by complex interrelations, made more complex by the arrival of the Second Triumvirate agencies (which, inevitably, sought to establish areas of operation, responsibility - and control - for themselves) and by the growing power of the larger regions. Humes (1995, p.116) describes a process of policy development in which Scottish Office ministers took soundings, via the Civil Service and Inspectorate, from the Second Triumvirate (who held many of the key portfolios), from Regions (as implementers) and, when it suited their purposes (McPherson & Raab, 1988, pp.xxi-xxii), from the wider educational community. The radically different views of how these interrelations functioned, depending upon the background, assumptions and intent of the commentator have already been discussed, whether the official (e.g. SOID, 1993) emphasising 'partnership' and 'consultation' or McPherson and Raab's (1988) and Arnott and Ozga's (2009) 'policy community' or Humes' (1995) 'incestuous, self-regarding arrangement'

(pp. 116-7). McPherson and Raab (1988, pp. 3-4) reject *consistent* partnership in the governance of Scottish education: they suggest that the partnership embraced 'a division of authority, powers and influence, plus an interdependence between the central authority and its local administrative agent' (1988, p. 4). They go on, throughout their work, to identify instances where responsibility is divided but power is not, and to note that 'third party' governance agents, such as teachers (or, by implication, headteachers), are by no means always included in the 'partnership'. It may be seen, therefore, that asymmetries and tensions existed in the relationships between governance layers and, with the rise of regions and the growing influence of agencies, unions and (latterly) headteachers, an increasing complexity in the structure itself.

4.2.3 1979 Onwards: Neo-Liberalism, Retrenchment and Political Flux

The period from 1945 to 1978 had not been tranquil. Structurally, the arrivals of the Second Triumvirate and regional education authorities were particularly significant but the governance changes of the 1960s and 1970s did not fully impact on education until catalysed by the arrival in 1979 of a neo-Liberal Conservative UK government. Their 18 years in power occurred as Tory support in Scotland evaporated, a process hastened by Scottish rejection of Thatcherian policies and Michael Forsyth's failure to seek civic consensus. Although inextricably linked in Scottish minds with Forsyth, the first 8 years

saw Alex Fletcher, Allan Stewart and John MacKay as education ministers. Unusually for any education minister, Fletcher, facilitated by the Secretary of State for Scotland, George Younger, passed two Bills through Westminster (the Education (Scotland) Acts 1980 and 1981). However, it is inevitably Forsyth who commands attention as he instituted or accelerated a range of highly significant changes to Scottish education. As the opening lines of Humes' 1995 work on Forsyth indicate:

> even Michael Forsyth's sternest critics would be unlikely to dispute the proposition that his impact on Scottish education has been very considerable, not only during the period when he had ministerial responsibility for it, but also subsequently, through the legacy of policies which he initiated.
>
> (Humes, 1995, p.112).

Asked who was the most significant governance actor (in the context of MFLs – but some interpreted this more widely), 39 of 56 respondents named Michael Forsyth, placing him far ahead of Frank Pignatelli (6 nominations), Keir Bloomer (4), Michael O'Neill (3) and Michael Russell (2). I return to Michael Forsyth in Chapters 5 and 6, such has been his influence – not least on MFL development - but concentrate here on structural changes brought about by his acts and policies. Ultimately, the most significant of these was a quantum leap in governance from largely apolitical to highly political (a process unabated since then), bringing the UK government directly into play in the governance of Scottish education (Humes, 1986, p.112). Forsyth also caused quasi-permanent changes to MFLs' place in the curriculum and in the extent to which both the media and the educational system scrutinized MFL

developments, as well as a radical change of pace of educational development (a situation which continued to accelerate towards the millennium) with inevitable pressures on both triumvirates, local government and schools alike.

With these major governance changes during the 1980s, came ‘considerable tensions between the Conservative UK governments and those responsible for education in Scotland’ (Clarke and Ozga, 2011). Forsyth oversaw significant erosion of the role and status of local authorities in educational governance (Humes, 1995, p.112), accompanied with the (temporary) reining in of both the SED and the Inspectorate, evident on several levels in, for example, the 1990 HMI MFL report (HMI, 1990) or Circular 1178 (SED, 1989). This contrasted with the approaches of Fletcher, Mackay and even Stewart, all of whom had followed the traditional route of reliance on the advice of officials (Humes, 1995, p.186). However, the attempted imposition of a market-based structure (Humes, 1995) and the failed attempt at forcing (rather than persuading) parents to take power over pupil placement, school management and school finances (HMSO, 1988, sections 15,18; Humes, 1995, p.117) were only slightly balanced by a partially successful (and continuing) campaign to involve parents and industrialists in national committees and national decision-making. His rejection of the broadly supported 10-14 project for his HMI-driven (and evaluated) 5-14 initiative and the near-simultaneous launch of three extensive educational initiatives, Standard Grade, 5-14 and Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS), contributed significantly to the

challenges faced by Scottish education around the millennium and to the specific pressures experienced by MFLs during the same period. Although employing his typical approach, these initiatives made significant, ultimately positive changes to teaching, learning and attainment but caused major pressures on schools and teachers, not least through the initial approach to Standard Grade and the 5-14 'national testing' regime.

With some inevitably, Forsyth's actions generated strident reactions (Humes, 1995, pp.114-115) in a majority of the 12 regions in order, as they saw it, to ameliorate his 'English,' neo-Liberal agenda. Even McPherson and Raab's more open-ended definition (1988, pp.29-34) of 'partnership' could not, in general, be applied to the Forsyth era. As Darling (1999) said, 'The Thatcher and Major governments played a role in education which was directive to an extent unimaginable in the period after the war' (p.33). Consultation, a crucial aspect of consensual governance, also suffered under Forsyth: the willing cooperation of potential partners, which might have been beneficial to his initiatives, does not appear to have been foremost in his thoughts or actions. Unfortunately, this contested educational arena was set within a long period of increasing financial stringency, considerable union unrest (Humes, 1995, p.126) and a rapid (but seemingly unforeseen) downturn in the pupil population from 1979 (despite ROSLA in 1972-3), all of which exacerbated the already considerable governance issues. This situation generated significant amendments to governance structures as, having been only formally adopted

by SCCC in 1976, subject Central Committees disappeared (leaving SEB with the only practitioner committees (Ross, 1999)), councils lost control of further education, the role of the SCCC was significantly curtailed (Ross, 1999) and teacher training underwent major downsizing.

The educational power of Scottish local authorities reached its zenith around 1990. Due to the unbalanced Wheatley implementation, the largest Scottish local authorities found themselves in an increasingly stronger position than their English counterparts as the large Metropolitan Counties and Greater London Council were abolished in 1986 (Fairley, 1998, p.63) and English councils' educational powers were eroded by the Thatcher government as part of its 'marketisation' drive. In fairness, English councils and central government *generally* disagreed less on the political direction of education (Fairley, 1988) but this Scottish 'strength' was attacked, initially by Thatcher (Young, 1989, p.124), but particularly by her successor (Leach and Davis, 1996, quoted in Campbell, 2000, p.5), with John Major describing the largest, most troublesome council, Strathclyde, as a 'monstrosity' (Fairley, 1998, p.63). In retrospect, a council which controlled the lives of half the Scottish population, was diametrically opposed in political terms to the Major government's philosophy and which 'had acquired the dubious honour of being Europe's largest education authority' (1998, p.63) would inevitably be the target of a UK government which saw councils as 'part of the problem' (1998, p.63).

The succeeding unitary authorities (see Appendix 7) were seen as too small by many (e.g. Campbell, 2000, p.14), with 24 out of 32 authorities (Midwinter & McGarvey, 1994) falling below Wheatley's suggested 200,000 population basis for effectiveness. This move to smaller authorities, a process with many transient difficulties, 'substantially disturbed' (MacKenzie, in Bryce & Humes, 1999, p.118) local authorities' power and their control of education, reducing their longer-term ability to provide 'adequate and efficient provision of school education' (HMSO, 1980, p.10), let alone engender improvement (Scottish Executive, 2000b). In the four years from 1992 to 'unitarisation' in 1996, councils were consumed by the need to contest, and then prepare for, the inevitable changes (Green, 1999, pp.150-151). Malcolm Green (*ibid.*, p.151) described the pre-change year as consisting of little more than attempted survival and continuity for councils. The year immediately after the change was little better as the new all-purpose councils tried to weld 'devolved' personnel and councillors (in many councils, ex-district councillors with little educational experience) into effective teams (according to e.g. M0001, M0016, M0021, M0031, M0049, M0081). Cajoled by the Conservative government to adopt a more strategic, enabling approach (Scottish Office, 1993) and to generate savings (Campbell, 2000, p.16), all but the largest reduced their Educational Development Services (EDS), particularly the advisers whose ability to support and influence directors, headteachers and teachers alike disappeared. This void largely went unfilled by the few curriculum officers left, as verified by almost all respondents with an EDS background. The migration, downsizing and dilution of Education Directorates

also contributed to what has been widely described as a 'loss of strategic capacity' (e.g. Fairley, 1998, p.64 and 31/40 interviewees) in the new authorities. However, although the five largest, most assertive (and arguably most effective) Regions were broken up, seven remained largely unchanged in size and it is thus necessary (in Chapter 5) to consider why, although to varying extents, local authorities are seen - by Fairley (1998), by respondents and by Campbell (1999, 2000) - as having failed some or all of the tests of political and educational leadership, professional expertise and appropriate capacity for policy development, implementation, evaluation and amendment.

These structural upheavals coincided with the early years of Standard Grade, the launches of 5-14 and MLPS (version 2) and the build-up to Higher Still. It may therefore be unsurprising that, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, significant difficulties were experienced in implementing MLPS and 5-14 and in reconciling Standard Grade and National Qualifications courses or that, slightly later, national agencies ran into serious problems. The temporal overlaps of such major government and governance changes with several sets of major curricular and assessment changes must ultimately generate questions about the capability of the national layer of governance in which these changes were planned but where their consequences, presumably unintended, do not appear from the evidence available to have been sufficiently or effectively considered.

4.2.4 1999 Onwards: Devolution - New Public Management, Openness, Pragmatism or Centralism?

The political and educational governance turmoil of the Thatcher/Major years did not subside with the arrival of the Blair government, despite its 'education, education, education' (Blair, 1997) mantra. It became clear that New Public Management (NPM), the flagship of the Blair years, was akin to 'Majorism' and laid a substantial burden of accountability on public services, not least on education. However, 'Blairism' partially passed Scotland by (Farrell and Arnott, 2009, pp.8-9) as, within a year, Scotland had a referendum on devolution and, within two years, had an Assembly controlled by a Labour-Liberal coalition Scottish Executive with fully devolved powers for, *inter alia*, education. Respondent M0001 (Council officer with significant school and authority governance experience) produced a superset of the views of most interviewees on this period:

> We got into a period when everything seemed to be changing. I'm not sure the national political situation *caused* the problems, but within about 5 to 10 years, we had multiple major MFL (and general) initiatives, a change in Council structures, repeated changes of political party and a complete change of government structure, a loss of advisers, Circular 3/2001 (which caused an MFL slump), the SQA collapse, the failure of 'Citizens' [of a Multilingual World] and so on. It's only looking back on it that you see what was going on - at the time we just tried to make it work.
>
> (M0001).

During this period, the Second Triumvirate encountered considerable difficulties: given prior events, this was perhaps foreseeable. The SCCC had emulated the Advisory Council by running into repeated governmental trouble

leading to the Crawley Review (1987), the Robertson Review (1993), relocation to Dundee, increasing difficulties in accessing ministers (Ross, 1999) and, ultimately, absorption by LTS (2000). The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) was created by welding the SEB together with the culturally (very) different Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) which had arisen to meet the requirements of the vocational Action Plan initiative (Raffe, 2009) and whose culture and practices at times seemed almost diametrically opposed to those of SEB (Paterson, 2000, p.88)). Crisis overtook SQA in 2000, the opening year of managing qualifications, through its failure to accurately deliver the results of the first National Qualifications examinations (e.g. Paterson, 2000, pp.149-153; Raffe, Howieson & Tinklin, 2000), leading to a national enquiry, severe loss of 'face' and consequent restructuring of the political and SQA leaderships.

However, HMI was also drawn into the crisis as: 'the change in the political landscape enabled the expression of considerable resentment against its dominant role in Scottish education' (Clarke & Ozga, 2011, p.8). Both as a result of this crisis and in recognition that the Scottish Executive was a more democratically credible educational voice for Scotland, the Inspectorate lost its lead role in educational policy generation (Paterson 2000; Raffe et al, 2001, quoted in Clarke & Ozga, 2011). As with the curricular agencies, resentment had waited for opportunity to come along. Whether because of their perceived power, their role as arbiters of the fates of others or their previous twin policy and evaluation role, an opportunity was taken to change the status of the

Inspectorate to an 'arms-length' Executive Agency, a situation which it 'enjoyed' (Clarke & Ozga, 2011, p.9) until its reincorporation into the Scottish Government as part of Education Scotland. Several authority and headteacher respondents (e.g. M0008, M0016, M0020, M0031, M0049) with national involvements suggest that this 'enjoyment' has been interesting to observe, not least during Fiona Hyslop's term as Cabinet Secretary when the then HMSCI appeared at the podium at several national conferences unusually late in the day, apparently to acquiesce to the minister's earlier words (as noted by e.g. M0020, M0021, M0031, M0049, M0050, M0092) rather than in his previous, much more prominent position. These respondents indicate that (quite lowly) civil servants schedule national conferences and that this represents further evidence of the diminished status of HMIe and its leaders and the enhanced power of the Civil Service.

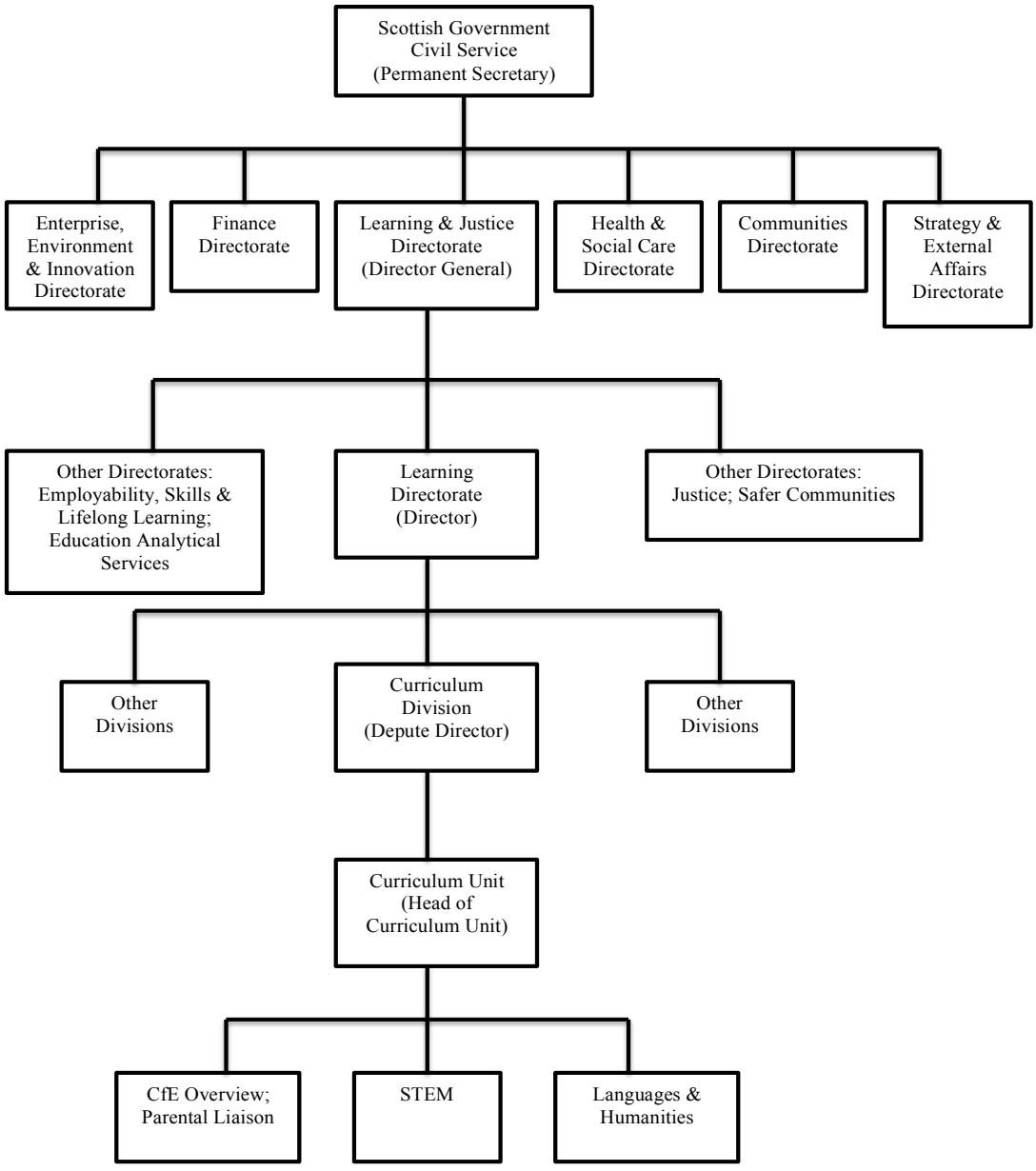
These events took place immediately after a second sustained period of teacher industrial action, during a rapid succession of seven education ministers (each evincing substantially different educational priorities) in seven years, with three very different governments in eight years (see Table 6.3 and Appendix 3) and against the planning, development and/or implementation of no fewer than seven major MFL/whole-curriculum initiatives during the same period (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3). Two of these, Curriculum Flexibility, a whole-curriculum secondary initiative, and Citizens of a Multilingual World (CoaMW), a specific MFL initiative, clashed in their desired outcomes, partially due to a change of education ministers and, according to respondents M0024 and

M0027 who were part of the process, partly because of the hesitancy of SEED civil servants, resulting in a lengthy period of confusion that continues to affect and impair MFL provision and learning at present. The agency and cultures involved in the creation of this nexus are examined in the following chapters but the pressure upon the structures and organisations of governance evidently reached breaking point in the 2000 SQA/Inspectorate situations and in the others led to contradictory decisions and some surprising non-implementations, as evaluated in Chapter 6. After a civil service-led review, SQA was rehabilitated but meanwhile SCCC was amalgamated with SCET to form Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), a new agency under new leadership charged with working alongside the Inspectorate and SQA to jointly develop and support Scottish education. HMI, as previously indicated, also changed, being metaphorically and physically (to Livingston) removed from the centre of power. Elsewhere, teachers and headteachers were distracted by changed education authorities, the Millenium Review, the post-McCrone settlement and the impending changes to schools' senior and middle management structures: challenging times.

As governments, ministers, councils and initiatives increasingly rapidly came and went, the only element of stability in these events lay in the civil service. No documentary evidence could be found to cast light on this aspect, but respondents involved in the period from 1996 to date suggest that HMIe directly controlled major initiatives, although usually ostensibly in 'partnership' with SCCC and SEB/SQA and with civil service 'observers', until after 2000.

Thereafter, the influence of civil servants grew. Respondents with relevant involvements (approximately 10% of the sample) agree that the balance of influence changed during Curriculum for Excellence. With the departure of Dr. Gill Robinson as leader of the CfE project, respondents suggest that the civil service assumed more direct control over the direction and, at times, the detail, of curricular change and development, with at least one civil servant described as directly writing curricular papers. A significant minority of respondents suggests that this change has since been consolidated and the decline in HMI influence seen during HMSCI Donaldson's period has continued since the creation of Education Scotland. Four respondents who have operated close to the centre of the national layer suggest that B-grade civil servants (relatively low in status – the higher-status Head of the Curriculum Unit is understood to be a C-grade) are responsible for exercising significant control over Scottish education. The civil servants who 'managed' LTS (and its chief executive) were identified by respondents as B-1 or B-2 level. Likewise, those responsible for organising and scheduling national curricular conferences or for the interviewing and appointment of Second Triumvirate agency leaders appear to come from the B-1 to B-3 layers. Their structure is thus describable – at least in the context of MFLs. Perhaps for the first time, Figure 4.1 shows the current structure relating to the curriculum and to MFLs. It does not imply that the civil service structure is immutable - it has changed since the arrival of the SNP government and individual leaders within the structure can change those parts responsible to them, presumably by agreement with those above the leader concerned.

Figure 4.1: Educational Civil Service Structure Diagram



Respondents indicate that a division may have 30 to 40 personnel of varying grades. The Curriculum Unit is, therefore, small in numbers since it forms part of a division. Inevitably, this implies that the responsibilities and workload carried by individual civil servants may be considerable.

This was not a quiet time for the First Triumvirate: in the seventeen years from 1986 to 2003, there were only five years (1988, 1991, 1993, 1994 and 1996) when a new Education Minister was not appointed, with inevitable consequences for the political direction of educational policy, including MFL policy. In the last third of this period there was also a rapid turnover of First Ministers, generating consequential ministerial changes. Some ministers, e.g. Helen Liddell and Jack McConnell, became heavily involved with MFLs; others took no recorded action in this context, despite significant media turmoil on the topic (e.g. BBC News 26/10/98; Scottish Executive Press Release 1998). The decline in the power of the Inspectorate at this point (Clarke & Ozga, 2011, p.9) did not necessarily help matters as their incisive analyses (HMIe, 2005a, 2005b) of the issues surrounding the implementation of CoaMW apparently went unheeded, further inhibiting MFL development and attainment. A national governance actor involved in these processes indicated, 'HMI were now reporting to fairly minor civil servants. Whether they passed on HMI's concerns to their superiors and to the politicians is not clear, but no action was taken' (M0026). The SED itself also continued to be re-branded (as SED, SEID, SOEID, SEED and SED) and its internal structures and some personnel changed but not its *modus operandi* (according to e.g. M0016, M0020, M0021).

Two further major changes affected educational structures and organisations in the period since 2000-2001. The first of these, a further international financial crisis only a decade after the impact of the previous 1980s crash had

begun to ease, took effect from 2008, although the worst effects on Council education services were delayed for several years and the full impact has only recently begun to bite (e.g. M0006, M0016, M0020, M0031, M0049, M0050, M0092). So far there has been little strategic realignment as a result of the crisis (perhaps, as M0016 – a national government actor – suggested, because both the Scottish government and local councils are still adjusting to the impact of the 1996 council restructuring), although one pair of councils (Clackmannan and Stirling) has merged its education services, with informal discussions continuing in other places. The second factor lies in the appearance of an SNP Scottish government which, in minority guise, seemed pragmatic and open (Arnott & Ozga, 2011; Clarke & Ozga, 2011)) but which, since gaining a majority, is seen by a majority of those respondents who work closely with its ministers as increasingly centralist (e.g. M0001, M0003, M0016, Moo20, M0026, M0081). However, respondents also note the good intentions behind the SNP ‘1+2’ initiative (Scottish Government, 2013) but are more guarded about its potential for success (see Chapter 6).

SUMMARY

Scottish educational governance structures have been changed by:

- Postwar expansionist pressures, leading to SEB/HMI overload
- Subsequent downsizing pressures from the mid 1970s due to falling rolls
- Expansion and revision of the qualifications system.
- Increasing extent of political involvement and pace of change
- Two major changes to local government structures in 21 years (1975, 1996)
- Consequent changes to education directorates and officer teams
- Devolved government from 1999

These changes included:

- 'Agencification': the creation of 3 educational agencies: GTCS, SEB/SQA and CCC/SCCC/LTS
- Repeated changes, suspensions and downgrading of the curricular agencies
- A 45-year cycle from centralism to pluralism to flux to centralism.
- Greater direct political control after the events of 1996 and 1999.
- Further centralisation after devolution and since the SNP majority.

Issues included:

- Rapid turnover of Scottish political leaders from 1995 to 2003
- Crisis of societal acceptance of government during Thatcher/Major governments
- Consequent contention with some regional councils
- Disruption of governance caused by council changes
- The decline of council capacity and influence from 1996
- The continued rise of civil service influence and control
- The fluctuating, but downward trend of HMIe influence and the repeated declines of the Advisory Council/(S)CCC/LTS/Education Scotland
- Failure of the exam agency in 2000, with consequent diminution of HMIe
- The appearance of headteachers as a separate governance group post-Forsyth
- Contention within and amongst governance layers

4.3 The Structure of Scottish Educational Governance

This section analyses the changing structures of Section 4.2, demonstrating five evolving models of governance structure, each of which arose as a result of major political and/or educational change processes and held sway until the next major change, leading to the current educational governance structure in Scotland.

4.3.1 Partnerships, hierarchy, markets, networks, or…?

> Public sector education in Scotland is a partnership between central and local government.
>
> (Scottish Information Office, 1984, p.2)

The epigraph above states the 'official position' of the Scottish Office and its successors. When written, it was possibly unsurprising that the voice of the First Triumvirate, given the challenges and difficulties already posed by agencies and councils, did not extend the concept/privilege of partnership beyond the local authorities whose statutory role it was to provide 'adequate and efficient provision of school education and further education' (HMSO, 1980, p.10). McPherson and Raab (1988, pp.xxi-xxii) suggest that other governance groups (e.g. teacher and headteacher associations, parents, pupils or employers) or individuals, were admitted to the 'partnership' only when useful to the First Triumvirate. McPherson and Raab's work contained

no data on the Second Triumvirate in its maturity in the 1980s and 1990s but a majority of respondents to this study (particularly local authority officers and headteachers) with involvement in national developments, suggest that the Second Triumvirate recruits individuals whose skills are useful *and* who can be 'trusted' (e.g. M0001, M0012, M0016, M0020, M0031, M0049, M0050, M0063).

Integrating published academic thought with the views of respondents suggests that the evolving governance of education in Scotland has exhibited tensions between:

a) Hierarchy and partnerships
b) Hierarchy and networked governance
c) Cooperation and contention
d) Central and local decision-making.

The last two aspects will be considered in Chapter 5 but the first two are addressed as part of the exploration of governance structure in this chapter.

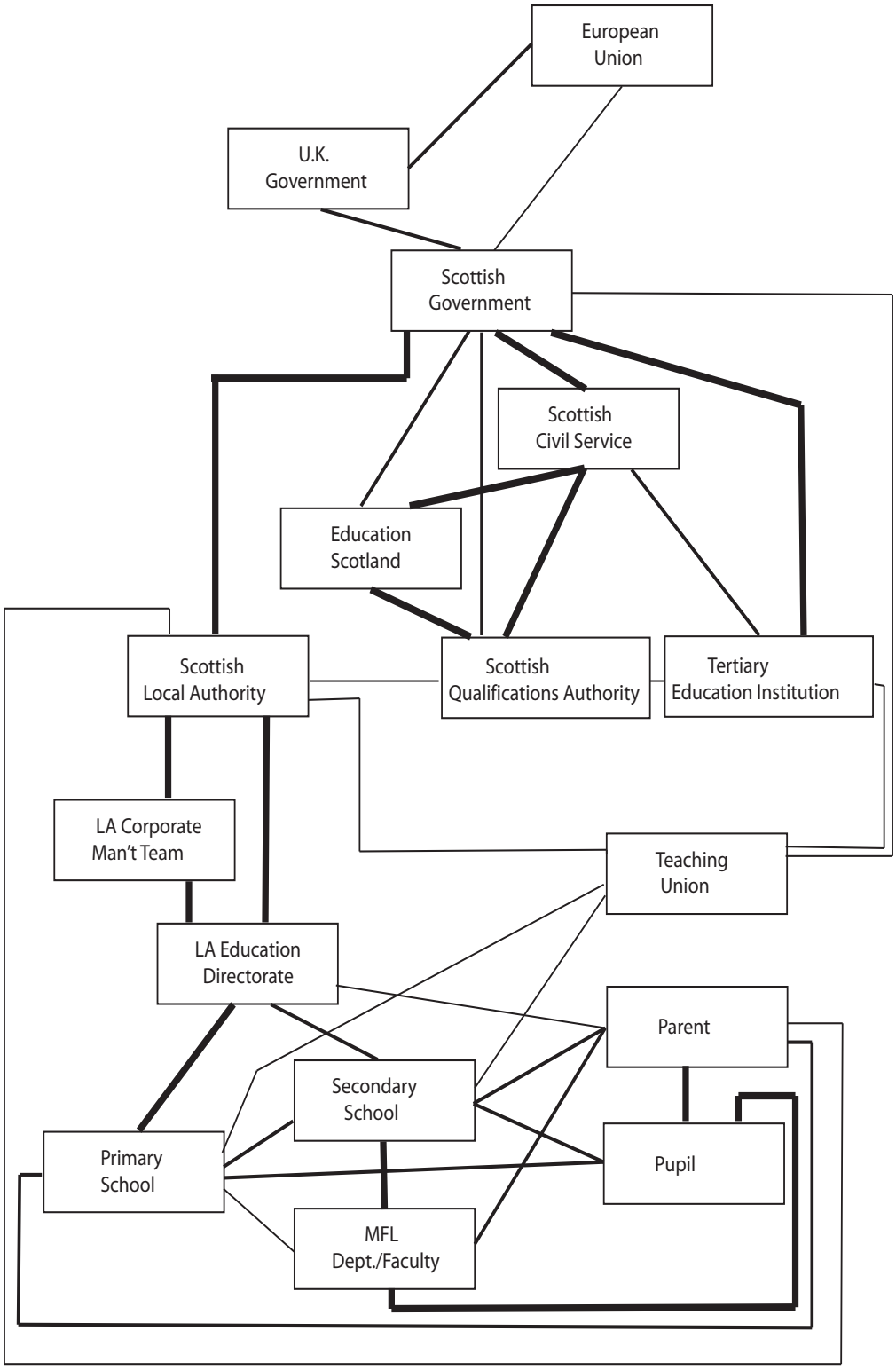
4.3.2 Models of Educational Governance Structure

After discussion with trial respondents, I developed three possible governance models (Figures 4.2 to 4.4) to promote reflection by respondents. A fourth model, market-based governance, was not attempted, as neither the trialists nor I could describe a 'Scottish educational market' in other than limited

aspects related to the growing power of headteachers or parental choice of school. Illustrations were therefore produced for hierarchical, networked, and Metagovernance models and distributed to respondents to aid consideration of the potential dichotomies between networks and hierarchy. These have supported both their responses and my final illustrations of the shape, nature, inputs to, and effectiveness of MFL governance.

The first diagram, Figure 4.1, is *based on* the Metagovernance approach, providing a visual analogy for the mixed economy of hierarchy and networks described by Metagovernance theorists. This diagram was drawn up in consultation with the trial respondents and five other educational governance actors (not connected with this study) to provide a cross-section of opinion.

Figure 4.2 Trial Diagram Developed to Exemplify Metagovernance



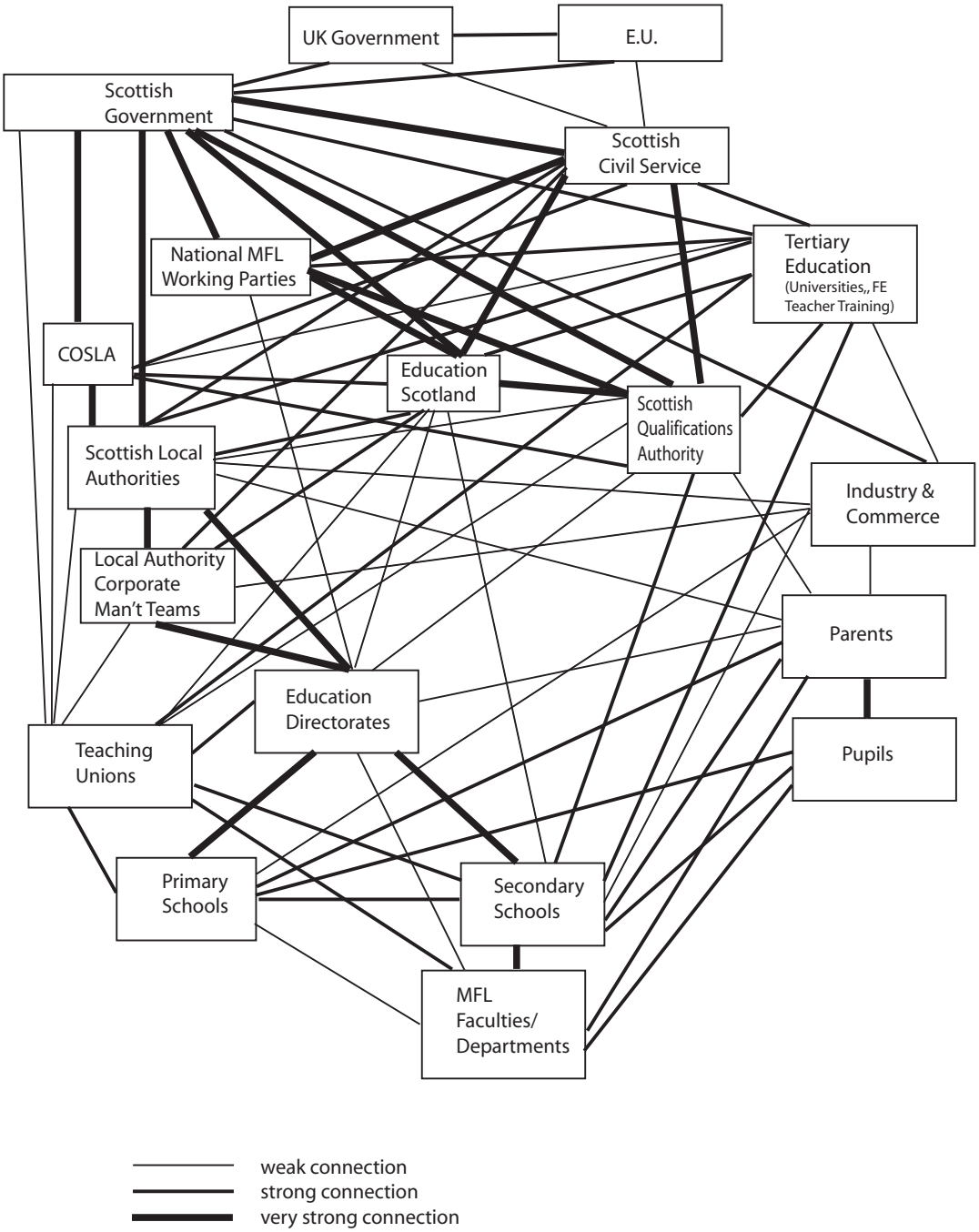
This diagram embodies an overarching hierarchy – actually a set of nested hierarchies - with the national layer influencing the local government layer which, in turn, influences the school layer. Interrelations of various types connect the networked or hierarchically connected elements of the different layers. Parents, pupils and unions, not fully part of the hierarchy, are shown to the side rather than in the vertical structure.

The lines connecting boxes and thus displaying interconnections show the strength of relation by the thickness of the line: thicker implies a stronger relationship. How the line connects boxes is also important: lines joining the bottom of a higher box to the top of a lower box imply hierarchical control by the upper box. Lines connecting the sides of two boxes imply a networked connection of approximate equals. Lines joining the side of a box to the top of another box imply a limited form of control by the box from whose side the line emerges (e.g. the limited control by parents of local authorities through the ballot box). This was simplified in the final illustrations of governance structure (Figures 4.5 to 4.9) as respondents suggested that single-headed and double-headed arrows might better represent the interrelationships between elements of the governance layers.

Trialists also helped develop a ‘network view’, despite little agreement among them about the nature or extent of networking. In the end, relying on Ball’s work on networked educational governance, I developed Figure 4.3, a network theory diagram (after Ball & Junemann, 2012) which almost all respondents

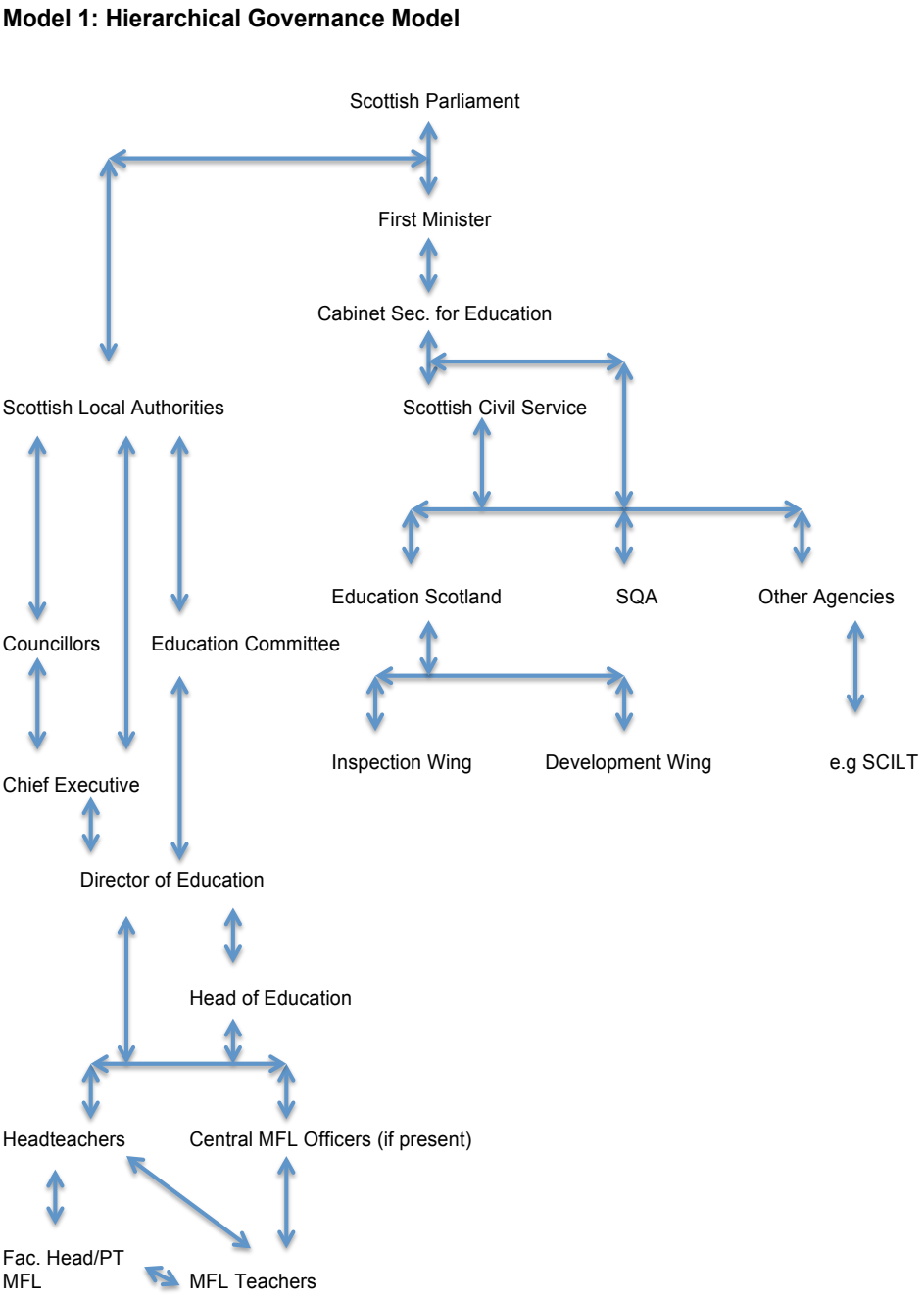
disliked because of its complexity but which a significant minority suggested was an accurate representation of Scottish educational governance:

Figure 4.3 Trial Network Representation of Educational Governance



Finally, I developed Figure 4.4, a traditional 'top-down' hierarchical model, checking with five experienced governance actors that it seemed appropriate:

Figure 4.4 Trial Hierarchical Representation of Educational Governance



This diagram drew significant support from respondents who either operate within government, the civil service or the national agencies or have worked closely with them. For example:

> It is a set of 3 linked hierarchies - national, local authority and school - which suffer from relatively poor linkages.
>
> (M0016, senior local authority officer).

However, although the hierarchical model drew significant support from upper governance layers and some school-based actors, the most commonly-chosen view of educational governance was the 'Metagovernance' view (31/56 respondents = 55%), with a minority (12/56) of respondents selecting a 'simple' or nested hierarchical governance structure and 7/56 suggesting that a network model was more accurate due to the 'mess' and/or 'complexity' inherent in Scottish educational structures. As respondent M0021 said, 'it looks like a tangled bird's nest and that seems to fit with the real thing'. The 'network governance' model aligns with the views of Ozga and her associates (Arnott & Ozga, 2011; Clarke & Ozga, 2011) in their investigations into the educational impact of the SNP governments and with Ball's views (e.g. Ball & Junemann, 2012) of the parallel situation in England.

That no respondent espoused a market-based model is unsurprising given the extent of rejection of 'marketisation' under Forsyth and the extent to which anti-Thatcher and anti-Forsyth feelings still permeate Scottish society. However, although only two respondents mentioned market forces, the longer

of the two responses is worth noting: 'Market forces do not have any direct influence on MFL governance structures; however press coverage and business reports do seep into the subconscious' (M0026, national governance actor). The impact of the press and of the irregular pronouncements of business and industry on their MFL needs are also considered in Chapters 5 and 6.

Almost all of those selecting the Metagovernance diagram indicated that they had selected it as, although there *were* networks and things *had* changed from a simple top-down system, an inherent hierarchy retained control of the lesser workings of governance. This is an endorsement of Scharpf's (1997a, 1997b) 'in the shadow of hierarchy' hypothesis and was delivered fairly consistently by respondents from schools, local authorities, national agencies and the civil service. Typical responses included those of M0001:

> It's not a hierarchical model *per se*. It's possibly, … no, probably, a Metagovernance model but the network model also reflects the complexity of the interconnections. The idea of the three layers where things happen internally but with few connections between layers, seems accurate.
>
> (M0001).

M0021 extended this view:

> This is complex. To some extent, it is network governance in that there are networks at work here. However, there are highly significant asymmetries of power and influence and some aspects appear to be hierarchical.
>
> (M0021, national agency respondent)

In supporting that general view, the response of M0050 also expressed a common theme:

> The structure is disconnected, with aspects of hierarchy and networks. (M0050, headteacher).

These themes of complexity and the disconnection of layers (and their sub-structures) are evident across a wide range (32/40 = 80%) of interviewees and were pursued in detail within the interview process. The disconnection aspect was clear even among those espousing hierarchy (e.g. M0016). This is considered further in section 4.4.

Since there are no other published illustrations of the structure and linkages of educational governance in Scotland, since the views of respondents favour Metagovernance with some support for networks and since the conclusions from governance actors substantiate my original literature review analysis that neither hierarchies, markets nor networks are sufficient of themselves to describe educational governance in Scotland, I have employed a developed version of Figure 4.2, combining a Metagovernance framework (and thus an innate hierarchy) with some of the complexity of the network model, as the basis for the five depictions of educational governance which follow.

4.3.3 Governance Structure: layers, groups, actors, processes and linkages

Structural changes identified from documentary analysis and respondents' comments suggest that Scottish educational governance structures have experienced repeated, significant changes since 1962. These changing structures are shown in Figures 4.5 to 4.9, illustrating governance layers, groups and linkages. The five diagrams each illustrate moments of major change in governance structures. Starting with the 'first triumvirate' governance structure up to 1962, I move to the 'two triumvirates' structure introduced in the mid-1960s in response to expansionist pressures. The third reflects the upheaval in governance soon after regionalisation, the election of the Thatcher government and the ministerial debut of Michael Forsyth; the penultimate shows the structure after further profound change - Scottish devolution and the 1996 council re-restructuring - and, finally, the last shows the post-2011 structure, continuing the story beyond the demise of regions, the partial re-absorption of the 'second triumvirate' and the growth of central control by the Scottish government.

Figure 4.5 Post-war (1945 – 1962) Governance – Hierarchy

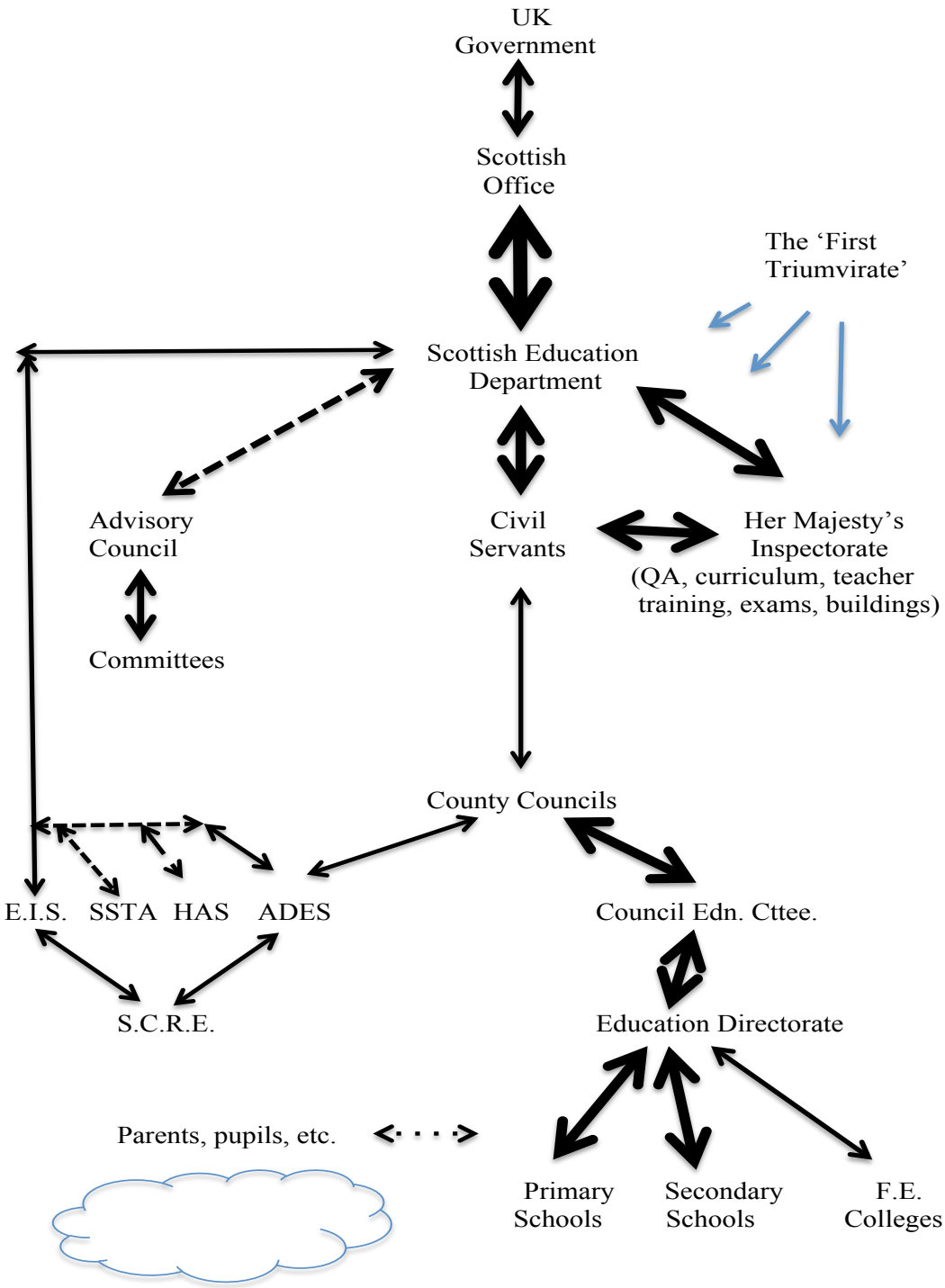


Figure 4.5 illustrates the structure of Scottish educational governance during the post-war period of consensus, political quiescence and leadership by officials (McPherson and Raab, 1988, pp.116-118, p.155; Rhodes, 1997a, p.4). Here, the First Triumvirate set policy, monitored implementation and controlled strategic resources (finance, staffing, training and accommodation) and qualifications. As previously identified, there were major challenges for them, not least in managing a major expansion of the education service through demographic, democratic, curricular and qualifications changes. However, with the relative disengagement of politicians at this stage, the other two parts of the First Triumvirate were 'left largely to [their] own devices by a Scottish Office which possessed few of the attributes of an overarching body' McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.116), operating with varying degrees of mutual cooperation, contention and/or control (i*bid*., p.31, p.134). The national layer of governance was completed by the Advisory Council on Education, a body whose influence, as expressed in its 1947 and 1959 reports, echoed throughout the period up to devolution. This influence notwithstanding, the Advisory Council was not 'inside the governance tent' of the First Triumvirate, as suspicions about its membership (two-thirds came from 'educational interests' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.48)) and motives troubled inspectors and civil servants alike (Young, 1986, pp.381-400).

Local authorities, the second layer of governance, had not yet advanced beyond the fragmentation inherent in 37 councils attempting to lead and

manage an education service through a demanding expansion programme. Only the largest of these were fully capable of meaningful debate with the First Triumvirate (McPherson & Raab, 1988, pp.31-32). On the other hand, directors of education, although appointed by, and responsible to, council education committees, were largely their own masters (an accurate gender at the time) with substantial control over, and little accountability required of, their services.

The third and fourth layers, school leaders and teachers, were directly governed by local authorities, although the EIS, with (to a lesser extent) the SSTA and the secondary headteachers' group, were engaged in aspects of governance challenge and debate. Within the 'cloud' – the somewhat nebulous fifth layer of governance – only parents registered as of importance but were seen as consumers of education (Farrell and Arnott, 2009), rather than participants in governance, and thus this structure is a hierarchy whose key features were the strengths of the interrelations within the First Triumvirate and the tight bonds between authorities and their schools, with only occasional opportunities, through the Advisory Council, the EIS, SCRE or the universities, for others to enter the 'governance tent', usually as their specific skills were required (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.33).

Figure 4.6 1965 to mid-1980s Governance - Agencification

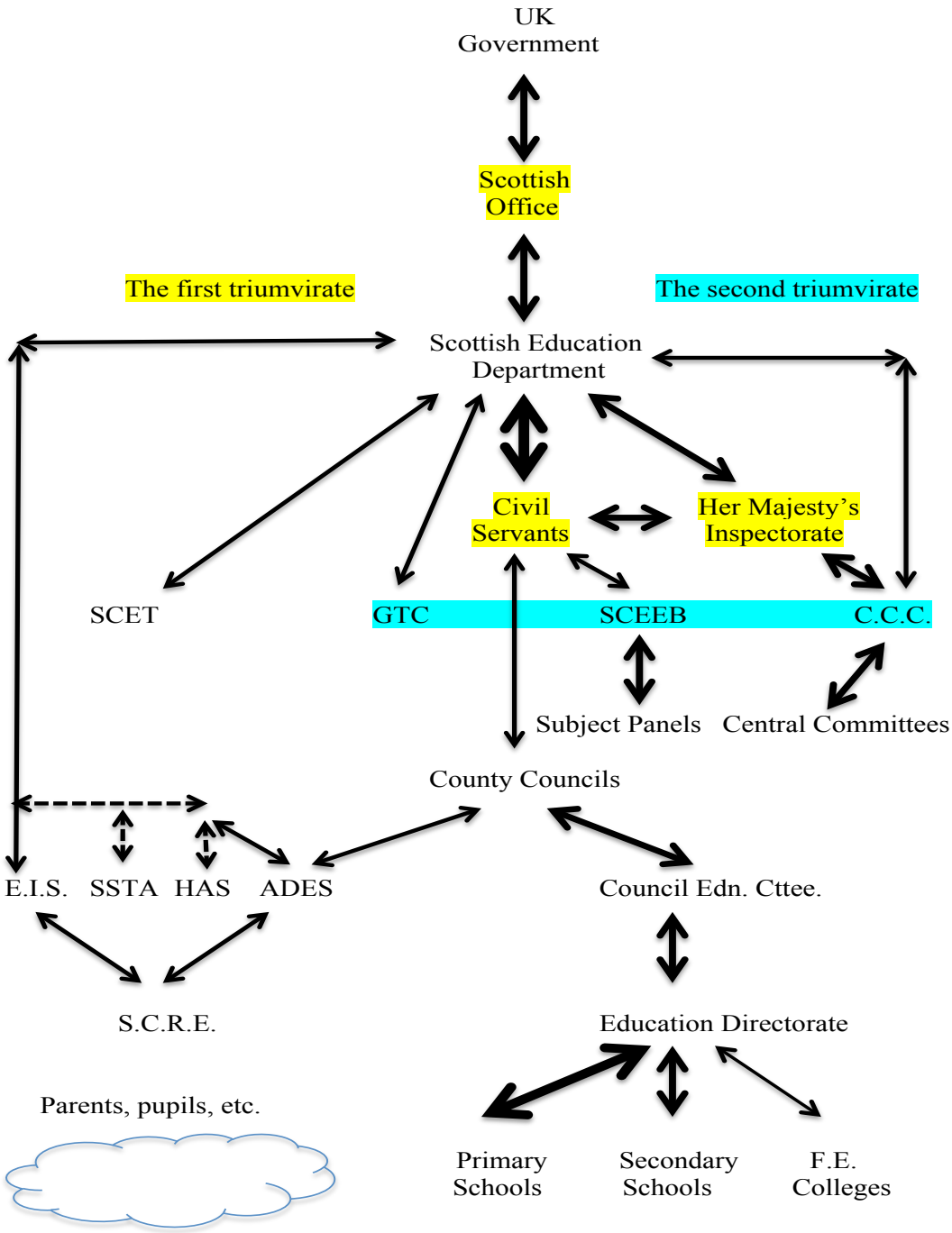


Figure 4.6 demonstrates the first of three major structural changes to Scottish educational governance. As described earlier, the pressures of expansion eventually broke the hold of the First Triumvirate on Scottish educational governance. Significant pressures came from the curriculum, qualifications, teacher recruitment, registration and discipline and accommodation and so, reluctantly, a Second Triumvirate of 'arms-length' agencies was formed. It was not intended that these bodies should be independent; McPherson and Raab make it clear that 'the CCC was intended to be both a channel and a cover for Inspectorate influence over the curriculum' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.xix) and that HMI continued to constrain the work of the GTC; Paterson (2003, p.133) talks of 'semi-independent' agencies. This was to be expected as these agencies held power (and considerable resource drawn from the SED's limited budget) over three central areas of educational governance. These developments represented agencification (Saward, 1997) but not, in any real way, destatisation (Crook *et al.*, 1992, p. 80), nor was this an attempt to establish any form of educational market.

The most contentious body, the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, was a replacement for the Advisory Council but, unlike it, was specifically designed to be a 'creature of the SED' (Gatherer, quoted in Ross 1993, p.223), 'leaving Scotland virtually bereft of public national fora for educational debate' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.173). The CCC did not quickly interface with local authorities or teachers (Ross, 1999) or gain control of the Central Committees responsible for subject developments, thus initially denying it

access to ‘intermediate’ level staff whose subject leadership and expertise were essential to future development of the curriculum. Perhaps this represented a ‘divide and rule’ approach to governance – given how the Advisory Council had used its sub-committees to good effect in its radical campaigns to improve education - but possibly it was merely an oversight. McPherson and Raab, however, had little doubt:

> Particularly important was the way in which the ‘representation’ of interest groups was negotiated by central government as it restructured the system of advice. The solution that the Department reached in the mid-60s weakened the CCC as an agency of curriculum development.
> (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.xix)

In so doing, the SED ‘was constrained to use particular criteria for the recognition of educational expertise and personal trustworthiness among outsiders’ (*ibid*., p.xix), thus limiting the attitudinal range of educationalists who became involved with the agencies and thus the nature of policies promoted. Possibly due to these constraints, the CCC only began to exert some curricular leadership after its acquisition of the Central Committees and their expertise, but, as with the Advisory Council, enhanced strength would bring political problems. The other two agencies had a quieter beginning and early life, albeit also constrained by Inspectorial advice and control (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.xix), but the volume of work in both areas was sufficiently large to fully occupy the two young organisations. This differed markedly from the CCC where major developments were some years away, so offering time for its leaders to attempt to define their role and future direction.

Within the local authority layer, parallel signs of developing strength and capacity appeared with the appointment in larger authorities of Advisers, initially with generic remits but nevertheless a step on the road to effective subject support and evaluation. The coming of Regions significantly increased the strength and capacity of local authority directorates, particularly in the five largest Regions. However, this process took some years to mature and is thus considered within the commentary on the next model. In the remaining governance layers, little changed for school leaders, teachers and the 'cloud'.

Taken together, these changes to the upper two layers created an educational governance structure which would endure for 20 years, providing a period of stability within which the twin impacts of the 1947 Report and of democratisation could (and had to) be worked through. The drawback lay, the appearance of the Second Triumvirate notwithstanding, in the lack of capacity evident in all layers, the lack of planning for major changes, the lack of curricular thought created by the disappearance of the Advisory Council, the casting adrift of curricular Central Committees and the initial isolation and HMI dominance of the CCC. All three agencies needed time to develop their systems, skills and understanding.

In the council layer, educational governance was still surprisingly isolated from democratic scrutiny and still lacked capacity to support development, improve teachers' skills and evaluate the quality of teaching and learning. This last

aspect was almost unthought-of at this stage, other than through infrequent visits by inspectors (and some headteachers) to some classrooms. In schools, leadership structures had not yet been fully developed, either at senior management level or through the definition of the full role of the principal teacher, and schools remained closely tied to authorities. Pupils, parents, employers and tertiary education remained almost completely outside the governance tent.

Figure 4.7 Mid 1980s to Late 1990s Governance - Politicisation

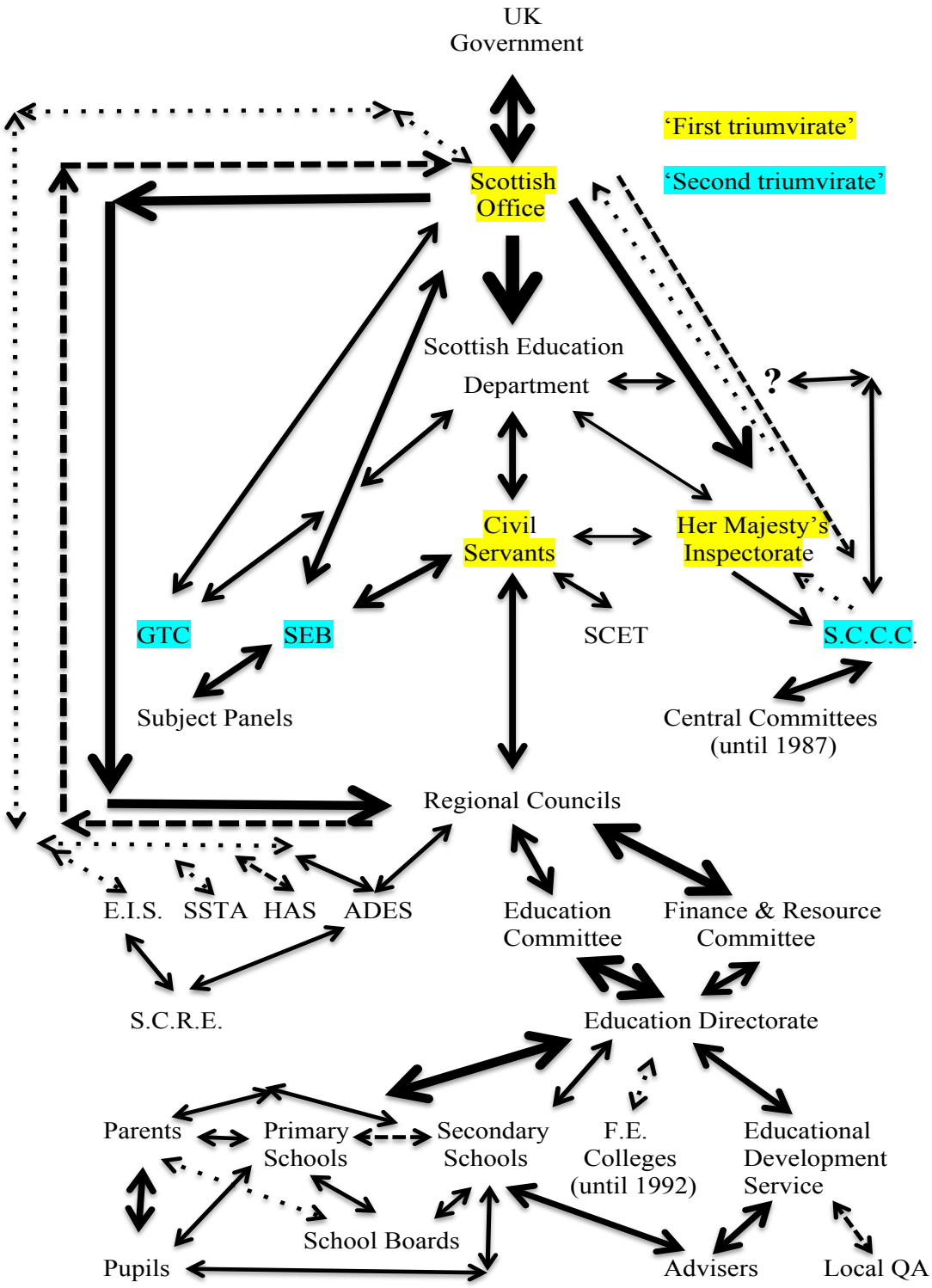


Figure 4.7 illustrates a second profound change, increased complexity in governance structure and linkages and a major intervention by Scottish Office political leaders backed by the Conservative UK government leading to significantly increased politicisation of Scottish educational governance. This coincided with the appearance of (some) powerful regional councils, the appearance of stronger, better-staffed regional education directorates (with a developing capacity to support and evaluate educational change), the sundering of the connection between local authorities and Further Education, the beginnings of autonomy for schools and the limited arrival of parents, but not pupils, in the structures of governance. This period marked a watershed dividing traditional, consensual (assuming one was 'inside the tent'), professional-led governance from the current highly political, heavily scrutinised and increasingly nationally and corporately-driven era, despite the rhetoric of the Forsyth years that education should be accountable to parents, rather than Councils.

These changes are evident in the diagram, not least in the clear and direct involvement of Scottish Office ministers in the detailed management of Scottish education, illustrated by the bold radiating lines linking the Scottish Office directly to the rest of the First Triumvirate, the Second Triumvirate (with the intermittent exception of the CCC) and to the regional councils responsible for 'educational delivery'. The increased complexity of inter-relationships, as evidenced by the proliferation of linkages, is equally clear.

Councils developed additional control mechanisms. Regions generally established a Policy and Resources (or similar) committee, bringing leading elected members and key officers together to implement regional political programmes, of which education was *the* major component. However, as noted, Regions were of widely varying population sizes, ranging from the small and often isolated to half of Scotland, with accompanying disparities of capacity and services. Key council leaders – politically, the Leader of the Council and, administratively, the Chief Executive – enjoyed significantly greater power than their prior equivalents could have imagined. This did not, however, immediately impact on directors of education as they still pursued, to a significant extent, a protected existence, used by some directors in large authorities to wield considerable influence over education and social policy. I return to this point in Table 4.7 by which time these interrelations had developed.

In the third and fourth layers, change is discernible. Although headteachers were very clearly held by authorities to be council officers (Jeyes, 2003, pp.177-178; Lennon, 2008, p.388), by the 'Law of Unintended Consequences', headteachers were able (e.g. according to M0016, M0031, M0044, M0050, M0081), through parental disdain for Forsyth's mechanisms, to acquire *de facto* the powers offered to School Boards to strengthen their own layer of governance. This strengthening of the power and independence of individual headteachers, particularly in the secondary sector, accompanied a slow but not untroubled growth in influence of their representative bodies. There is a

counter-argument here that, although headteachers were strengthened, it was more in a managerial rather than leadership context and that both they and, particularly, local authorities were weakened by increased national control of strategic and evaluative controls and powers (Bloomer, 1999; Fairley & Paterson, 1995). Teachers' influence also waxed and waned. A sequence of strikes, often mischaracterised as solely about pay and conditions, on the appropriateness of several successive curricular initiatives, the workload demands upon teachers and the impact of inflation on salaries brought the EIS in particular to a prominent place in the governance arena and forced successive education ministers to come to terms with them.

The overall status of professionals, however, whether 'management' or 'union', was degraded. Union downturns were matched by a sudden decline in the status and power of the Inspectorate and, to a lesser extent, of the Civil Service, thus leading to direct contention between Scottish Office politicians and local authorities and provoking direct union action without the normal official-led intercession to interpret, seek consensus and impose their normal pattern upon events. Equally evident is the emergence of parents, though not pupils, from the 'cloud' to participate in limited but significant aspects of governance, such as School Boards, though not to the extent anticipated by the Conservative administration.

Figure 4.8 Late 1990s to 2007 Governance – Flux and its Effects

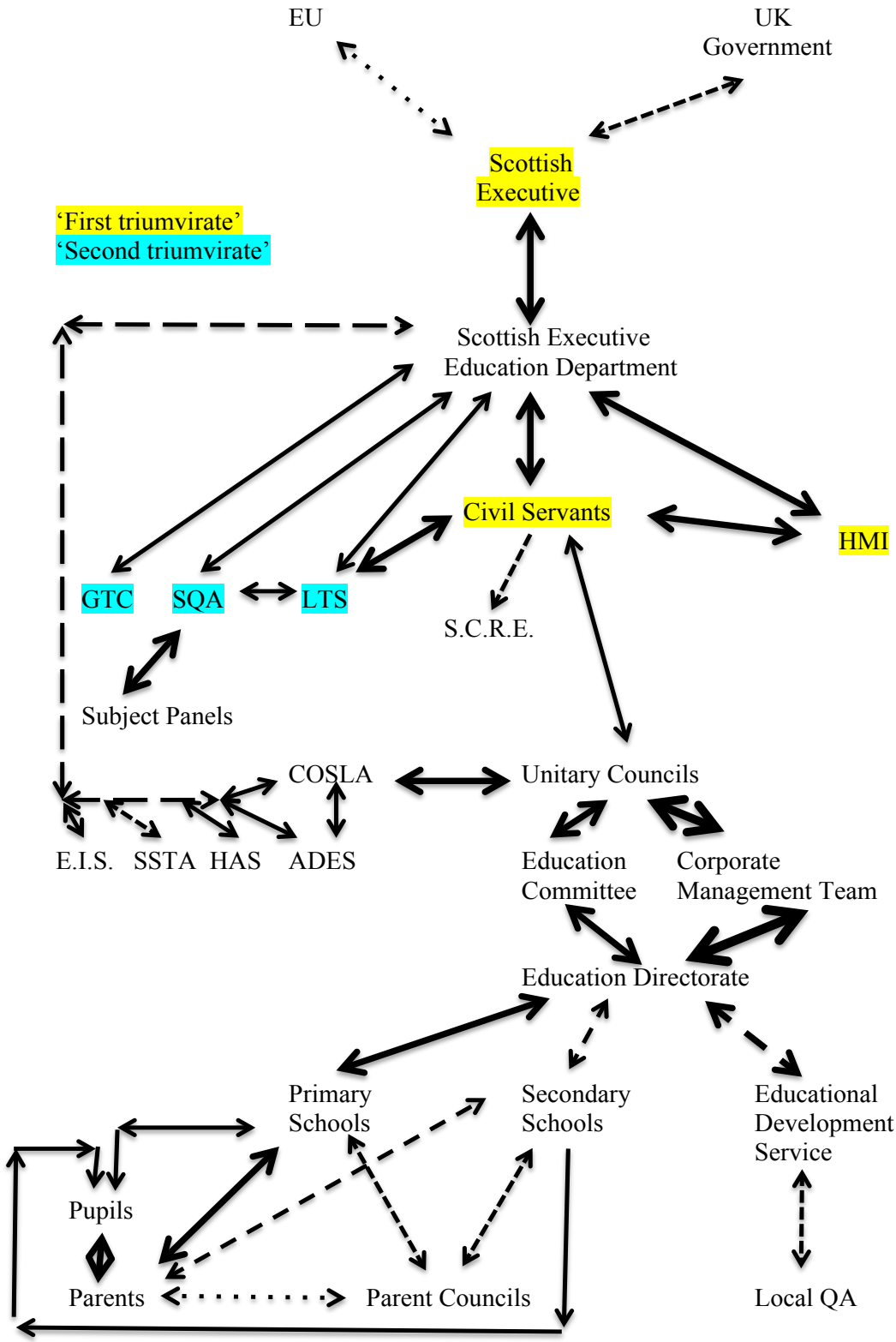


Figure 4.8 shows the governance structure post-devolution. For a third consecutive period, the scope and pace of change again increased as the years immediately before and after devolution again brought major change – to both triumvirates and to local authorities, schools, parents and pupils. Within the national layer, the shift from Conservative to Labour (1997) to a Labour-Liberal coalition (1999), along with a constant turnover of education ministers (7 ministers inside 7 years, from 1997 to 2003 – see Table 5.2) caused significant flux, with inevitable consequences:

> Since devolution, the connection between national politicians' 'vision' and policy and implementation is almost non-existent.
>
> (M0001).

Tangible evidence of this was seen in successive Higher Still postponements in the face of resurgent unions, the crisis of 2000 in the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) and the rapid overwriting of one minister's Curriculum Flexibility initiative with the Curriculum for Excellence initiative of a subsequent minister. The last of these again exemplifies the 'Law of Unintended Consequences' as the Flexibility initiative's Circular 3/2001 was left stranded by the abandonment of its intended framework, but still in place and thus able to be (mis?)used by some headteachers (according to M0001, M0003, M0005, M0006, M0021, M0026, M0035, M0036, M0043, M0049, M0050, M0081) without significant intervention. The impact of these events, especially the last, on MFL development is examined in Chapter 6.

The two triumvirates were also affected by political change. The First Triumvirate now included new political leaders, the Scottish Executive, which was initially driven by establishing a new, more open style of government. Despite the Liberal Democrat influence, there was still a commitment to New Public Management, accountability and the streamlining of government. Although NPM and 'Majorism' were clearly akin, these processes required adjustment by the two triumvirates. The Inspectorate, in particular, suffered (Clarke & Ozga, 2011, p.9) in the wake of the 2000 SQA crisis, with almost all governance layers contributing to the downgrading of its status.

The Second Triumvirate experienced disparate fates, ranging from steady progress to disappearance. The GTC developed quietly, eventually becoming GTC Scotland (as a similarly-named southern body had appeared). Meanwhile, in response to TVEI, Action Plan (Raffe, 2009, pp.22-35) of 1983, the subsequent creation of the Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) and 'modularised' National Qualifications, the Conservative administration had decided to streamline the qualifications system by uniting SEB and SCOTVEC. This happened just as the Blair government attained power in 1997. It appears that the sheer sweep and scale of change, both political and educational, obscured what was happening within SQA, but respondents with involvement there (e.g. M0003, M0006, M0020, M0021, M0028, M0043, M0049, M0081) were aware of very different cultures in the ex-SEB and ex-SCOTVEC members of SQA and of the consequent difficulties within the new body. Clarence's (2000) view - of at least part of these events -

that: ‘ministers had “signed off” an overly ambitious programme with no built-in “safety nets”’ (p.798) will be further considered in Chapters 6 and 7 to ascertain whether this is a more widely applicable theme.

Despite having had original support from HMSCI John Brunton, who saw the value of an ‘independent’ voice alongside the Inspectorate (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.93), the SCCC followed the Advisory Council in suffering repeated threats from SED reviews (leading to a mass resignation by its Council (Ross, 1999, p.184)), downsizing by the Scottish Office and near-closure in the Robertson Review of 1993 (*ibid.*, p.184), By the late 1980s SCCC staff felt ‘that the Inspectorate wanted to marginalize it’ (*ibid.*, p.185). This was accompanied by ‘the arrival of some hard-line, strong, managerial – I think it is fair to say, Thatcherite – civil servants in key positions. And they changed the policy more or less overnight’ (*ibid.*, p.185). However, the Inspectorate could not re-absorb the curricular function, not least because of the sheer scale of development at that time (1999 to 2001), with all three Forsyth initiatives (S Grade, 5-14 and MLPS) still being developed and four further initiatives (Higher Still, National Qualifications, Curriculum Flexibility and Citizens of a Multilingual World) in the development phase. The Scottish Executive’s solution, announced by Helen Liddell in November 1999, was to amalgamate SCCC with SCET to create Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), as an NDPB, give it a commercial arm to raise some of its funding and give it responsibility (in the waning presence of local authority development teams) for developing and supporting all of these initiatives *and* for their

technological support. This was highly ambitious but perhaps less than realistic.

Alongside these upheavals in the national governance layer, major issues also appeared in the local authority layer. Rock climbers maintain stability by keeping '3 points of contact' whilst moving the fourth: that this concept traditionally applied in Scottish education is writ large both in McPherson and Raab (1988) and in Paterson (2003) - things were managed carefully, perhaps at times too carefully. Thus, with six or seven major curricular initiatives (from four different ministers and three different governments) at various stages of development, complete restructuring in the NDPB responsible for the curriculum and crisis in the NDPB responsible for assessment and qualifications, stability might have been expected in the local authorities responsible for implementing educational change. Unfortunately, the Major government's dislike of large, politically-opposed education authorities (Humes, 1995) and a hope of retaining some Conservative councils had already instigated another re-organisation of Scottish local government in 1996 with the creation of 32 'unitary' authorities for whom education was, by far, their largest responsibility (and for some, an unknown one). It has been argued by academic commentators (e.g. Midwinter, 1993, p.61) and by respondents (e.g. M0016) that no convincing case was ever put forward for this change but as Green (1999) indicated, once the fight was lost, the main thing on Councils' minds was survival. It must therefore have caused major concern to councils to suddenly be made responsible (through the Standards

in Scotland's Schools, etc. Act 2000) for ensuring 'improvement in the quality of school education' and for 'raising standards of education' (Scottish Executive, 2000) at a time when they were particularly vulnerable. Troubles also finally lay in wait (see Chapter 5) for Directors whose previous 'inviolate' status now succumbed to the chief executives who had campaigned actively for the change to unitary councils and a more corporate approach to local government (McVicar, Jordan & Boyne, 1994, pp.81-82).

The most commonly held (75%) view of interviewees (particularly prevalent among authority officers, headteachers, deputes and national agency officers but barely registering among directorate members) is that local authorities' developmental 'capacity has almost disappeared since the break-up of regions' (M0001). This applied equally to policy: 'I'm not sure if any EA [MFL] policies have existed after regions and before '1+2'. Directors and their directorate colleagues have not pushed MFL in the vast majority of councils' (M0001) and to leadership, development and support. This thesis confirms M0001's view, finding only 6 authority MFL policies from 32 in the pre-'1+2' era (with three of these said by respondents not to have been discussed with headteachers). Respondents, particularly authority and school leaders, also suggested that this period saw (particularly secondary) schools begin to be less dependent on, and more challenging towards, local authorities, although some respondents (e.g. M0016, M0021, M0049, M0050) noted that some headteachers seemed anxious about using their new freedoms.

Figure 4.9 Post-2007 Governance – Centralisation and Uncoupling

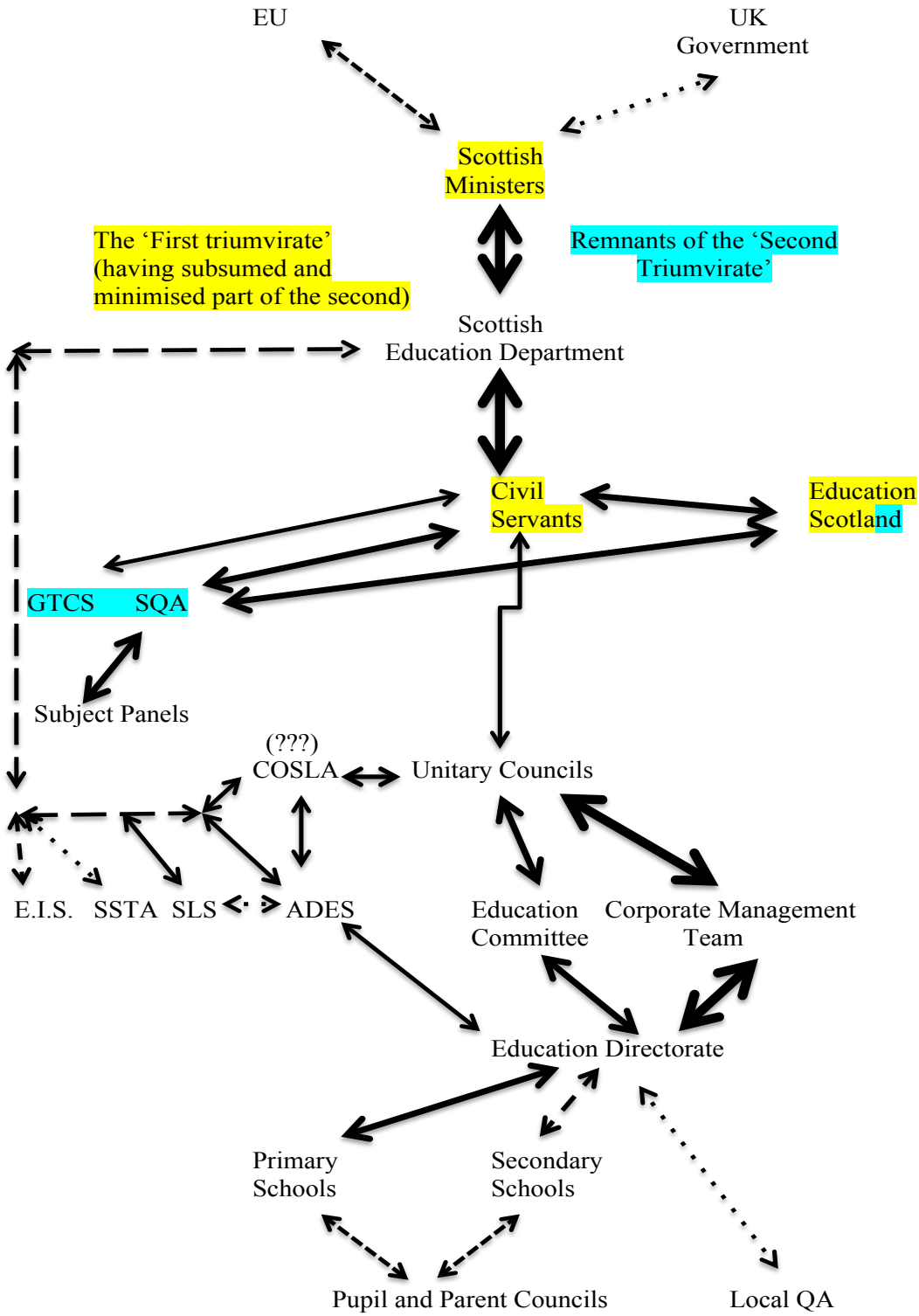


Figure 4.9 demonstrates the current situation and so, while identifying the significance of change as before, the current capabilities and issues of the structure, its layers and their components are examined. Structurally, there are again highly significant changes: the amalgamation of LTS and the Inspectorate (which some respondents, e.g. M0001, M0020, M0021, M0026, M0035, M0043, M0081, describe in terms of a 'takeover' by HMIe), the further weakening of local authorities due to the financial crisis, leading to a second erosion of authority ('slimming down' of curriculum officers and directorates) and school (e.g. removal of some Deputes, PTs and/or teachers) capacity but also, in secondary schools, an increasing extent of self-determination and uncoupling from aspects of local authority control.

The most striking finding (from official documentation and respondents' views) on this latest structure is that, in the upper two layers, the governance structure appears to be returning towards that of Figure 4.5 with a shrinking of the Second Triumvirate and a strengthening of the First, with the exception of HMIe. Education Scotland appears to have shrunk significantly, both in terms of manpower and of reach, with most respondents at best ambivalent about its current status, power and capacity. The school leader layer, however, appears - particularly in the secondary case - to be less tied to the further-weakened local authorities whose position and future role are uncertain, in the views of academic commentators (e.g. Bloomer, 2013; Ledingham, 2013), a majority of respondents and in media speculation.

The position of parents, pupils, unions and other 'cloud' groupings seems no further strengthened, with a weakened role for parents and parent bodies in the post - School Board era, no evidence of the emergence of a genuine role for pupils in educational governance and a decline in influence of both unions (e.g. the ejection of SSTA from the national organising committee for *Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)* and the spectacle of major EIS concerns – but no action – about CfE and National Qualifications) or employers.

SUMMARY

Scottish educational governance structures demonstrate:

- Predominance of hierarchy: three nested hierarchies (Scharpf, Jessop and respondents)
- Apparent adherence of the governance system to a Jessopian Metagovernance system
- Aspects of heterarchy (networks: informal and formal) and some of the complexity associated with a networked system
- Very limited aspects of market governance (existence disputed by respondents)
- Asymmetric power (and its regular use) within the governance system
- Variable, but frequently poor linkages across the structure.

The basic structure has consisted of:

- Three nested hierarchies (First Triumvirate, authority, school) from 1945 to mid 1960s
- Agencification (GTC, CCC, SEB) from mid 1960s to mid 1980s (but continuing hierarchy)
- Conflicting, contested and flawed neo-liberal centralisation and consumer control initiatives from mid 1980s to late 1990s

SUMMARY (continued)

- Political flux (national and council), agency crises, increasing control by civil servants, declining council capacity, increasing headteacher local control and a very limited entry to governance by parents from the late 1990s to mid 2000s.
- Assumption of greater central control by SNP, (third) disbandment of a curricular agency, further increase in civil service control, further decline of inspectorate status and control; continued decline of council education structures, increased influence of headteachers and headteacher groups.
- In 2014, the governance system still consists of three nested hierarchies but with radical changes in each hierarchy.

Issues included:

- The extent of 'partnership' in Scottish educational governance
- Significant complexity, intermittently further hindered by poor communications and relationships, within a small governance system
- Internal national tensions caused by agencification and partial de-agencification.
- Continuing decline of Inspectorate and increasing imbalances in the First Triumvirate
- Rapid decline of council capacity post-1996.

4.4 Scottish Educational Structures – Summary and Issues

4.4.1 Summary Findings on Structure

The structure of Scottish educational governance directly affects the nature and effectiveness of MFL governance and can both enable and inhibit this. Governance structures appear solid and familiar to a large majority of governance agents interviewed but have changed significantly over the timescale of this thesis, with many of these changes understood by only a minority. The summaries in Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 sharply illuminate both the extent of change and the extent of disruption to governance caused by many of these changes.

Three key features of these changes are the 45-year cycle from a centralised structure to greater pluralism (and agencification) and then back to centralism, the increasing complexity of structures (and of governance itself) and the decline of parts of the governance structure. This last aspect is increasingly evident in local authorities since 1996 and is also evident in the rises and falls of curricular agencies throughout the period. HMIe has also experienced cycles of influence and power but is currently, and worryingly, much less influential than is required for balanced governance.

Scottish educational governance comprises three main hierarchical levels containing five layers of governance agents who operate variably (and often simultaneously) as individuals and/or in groups within and, to a lesser extent,

across levels. Hierarchy is the predominant style of governance, unlike England and Wales, aspects of networking exist but no elements of marketization exist in the structures themselves. National, local authority and school levels all display significant sub-structure but, to differing extents, their capacity for cooperation and progress is partially compromised by aspects of contention and reinterpretation. Linkages among and within layers are highly variable and often poor to very poor: this is a key weakness of governance.

Each of the three levels has experienced fluctuating influence and power in governance, with the national level maintaining a firm grasp whereas the local authority level has been increasingly weakened since 1996 and schools somewhat strengthened. Within each level there have been repeated significant changes of governance status with national politicians, civil servants, inspectors, agency personnel, local councillors, directorate members, curricular officers, headteachers, depute headteachers, unions and teachers all experiencing ststus changes across the period considered. Conversely, parents, pupils and employers have maintained a very low governance status across the period, but with limited market-based impact.

The Scottish educational governance structure is increasingly diverging from that of England and Wales, although there have been, and continue to be, similarities of structure, action and outcome. The predominant discourse of Scottish politicians and civil servants is of 'partnership' although this often appears to embrace only all or, intermittently, some of the national level and,

at times, the most senior part of the local authority level. UK, Scottish and local authority political changes and initiatives have impacted significantly on educational governance structures and on their capacity to envision, plan, implement, support, evaluate and amend improvements.

4.4.2 Issues within Layers

The Issues emerging from these structural findings fall naturally into issues within governance layers and issues of inter-layer relations, with associated issues of complexity.

The First Triumvirate

The joint image of respondents and academic commentators alike is of political quiescence until the mid-1960s then rapid politicisation of educational governance, particularly after the mid 1980s. Despite increasing political control and quickening change, the non- (party-) political components of the First Triumvirate tried to maintain their control of education. Although sometimes seen by outsiders as distant, elusive or difficult to engage with, the Civil Service have maintained a hold, varyingly contested by the Inspectorate, on policy and, increasingly, on the curriculum itself. The Inspectorate, the most vulnerable of the three, has pursued an oscillating downward pathway, moving from Brunton's strong position up to 1965 to a weakened position in the early 1970s, followed by recovery to the mid 1980s but then by subjugation under Forsyth. Although a recovery occurred under HMSCI Osler, the fallout of the 2000 SQA crisis and subsequent concerns about the

development of CfE impacted heavily on HMIe, with its removal, both physical and influential, to the status of Executive Agency further diminishing its authority. The decline has continued as the Scottish Government appears to have resolved the potential clash between the Inspectorate's desire to 'speak for education' and its own democratic powers through HMIe's forced amalgamation with LTS and the growing curricular influence of the Civil Service (according to a clear majority of respondents - although none from politics or the Civil Service).

As described in Section 4.3, the structural outcomes appear to be a diminished and unbalanced First Triumvirate where civil servants are left to moderate and interpret an increasingly powerful and centralist Scottish Government's policies - in a generalist way - as the Inspectorate's specialist influence appears to have diminished both in size and in terms of the layers of government/civil service where it is heard (M0016, M0020, M0021, M0026). The Inspectorate's sustained decline and the resulting imbalance of the First Triumvirate represents a significant issue of educational governance.

The Second Triumvirate

The Second Triumvirate continues to experience difficulties. LTS, the last curricular NDPB, has gone, with its remnant much reduced in size and influence and (sub) merged in Education Scotland. There is an issue here since the Inspectorate, once the creators, developers and regulators of the curriculum, both directly and through surrogates, are also much reduced in

size and, according to some respondents (M0016, M0021, M0026, M0030, M0082), reach. This alters the balance of educational governance and development towards politicians, civil servants, SQA and local authorities. The first of these do not have the capacity (in time or knowledge) to do more than establish strategic direction, the second also do not generally have the specific skills and knowledge, the third have subject panels but do not control the curriculum itself and the last have lost two significant tranches of capacity (after 1996 and since 2008) despite their continued desire to lead an area where they are legally required to raise educational standards. Thus, the evidence available to this study suggests that the Second Triumvirate may be in decline, leaving a First Triumvirate which itself has been unbalanced by political assumption of control and the diminution of the Inspectorate, to attempt to carry forward improvements. This constitutes a highly significant issue of educational governance.

Local Authorities

Local authorities have twice experienced wholesale change in the last 40 years. Before the first of these, a fairly traditional system of city/county authorities was in place, lacking both governance structure and capacity (with quasi-independent directors of education, few senior officers and no significant mechanisms of support or accountably). The 1975 change, was mishandled, leading to authorities serving widely differing populations (Fairley, 1998, p. 62) and with widely differing capacities. In hindsight, this change led

directly to confrontation between a neo-Liberal Conservative UK government and half a dozen large (mostly) Labour-controlled authorities.

The larger authorities built up significant control, support, development and evaluation teams with the capacity to make significant local impacts. Unfortunately, the political challenge offered by them blinded the UK national government to the potential strengths of Regions, had a working partnership been created. This challenge led quickly (21 years after regionalisation) to the creation of 'unitary' authorities, somewhat vaguely promoted by the Conservatives (Lang, 1994; Midwinter, 1993) and greeted with outright opposition by regions (Green, 1999). The new education directorates were surprisingly swiftly subsumed (given their previous quasi-independence) within local political and corporate structures, lost almost all their Advisers and some/many curricular staff, while suffering dilution of directorate strength and experience as more able directorate members were spread over 32 authorities instead of 12. Respondents across the authority and school layers (and within national agencies) have expressed consistent concerns regarding the impact of these processes on councils' abilities to maintain their educational services, let alone induce improvement. There is near unanimity among respondents that the financial crisis from 2008 onwards has further worsened this situation in most, if not all, authorities. In summary, despite Fairley's early view (1998) that there were some benefits in unitary authorities, the weight of evidence and testimony available suggests that the capability of local authorities is in significant (but varying) decline, changed by more direct national political and

local corporate control and badly weakened by the dilution of leadership and the significant erosion of their support and development capacity. This constitutes a further significant problem of educational governance.

Schools and School Leaders

This is a more complex case, as headteachers and schools have both won and lost through the political, structural, financial and developmental issues experienced in the upper layers of governance. Losses have been experienced in finance (although this appears to vary across councils), staffing (again variable) and, almost universally, council support and CPD provision. Headteachers have, however, gained autonomy (although not nearly to the extent of their English equivalents) in curriculum and finance but a majority of respondents sees a double-edged sword here, sharing a common concern that not all headteachers use the powers bestowed (by Circular 3/2001, the repeal of the SCCC Curricular Guidelines and the weakening of councils and parent bodies) to enhance their curricular provision, particularly in MFLs, due to headteachers' apparent concerns about external scrutiny of results and, in a large minority of schools sampled, their views of the quality of MFL teaching and learning. This view of headteachers is particularly prevalent among First and Second Triumvirate members and council curricular officers. This represents an issue of inequity – a form of 'postcode lottery' – and one seen by local authority respondents as perhaps the *most* serious issue affecting MFL provision and attainment. Perhaps unsurprisingly, only a minority (7/18) of headteachers held this opinion.

Teachers, Parents and Pupils

For most teachers and parents the fervency of two major campaigns of industrial action on the curriculum (rather than pay or conditions) in the 1980s is before their time, or so long ago as to be almost forgotten. Despite repeated union reservations about CfE, no such action has recurred. Perhaps a new generation of teachers does business differently or perhaps Baroness Thatcher permanently changed the landscape of industrial relations. Even the expulsion of the SSTA from the national CfE steering committee led to no action (although the SSTA 'rank and file' are historically more resistant to industrial action than their EIS colleagues). The EIS has managed to maintain a seat at the CfE 'partnership' table but its ability to significantly change policy appears diminished, based on commentators' and respondents' views.

The 'parent power' experiment of the Forsyth years has also receded, with School Boards replaced by relatively powerless Parent Councils. Despite all Scottish governments' (since 1999) avowed desire for public participation, none has offered parents or pupils an opportunity for genuine partnership in running their local schools: the comparison with the English 'free schools' initiative is stark. In a few schools, respondents report pupil/parent councils partially influencing the direction of their schools but there is no sign that this is a widespread priority. In summary, the elements of 'the cloud' largely remain 'out there' somewhere. This again represents a governance issue as, if the main customers of education are, *volens nolens*, excluded from

participation in governance, they are unlikely to cooperate, let alone actively seek to make positive changes.

4.4.3 Issues of Inter-layer Connection and Complexity

Complexity

Figures 4.4 to 4.7 embody rapid growth and increased governance complexity, followed by direct political assumption of control over education - further increasing complexity - followed by rapid political change and consequent instability in educational governance. These have been followed in the last decade by consolidation and a return towards more centralist governance, but not by diminution of the complexity of governance. Major educational change has been overlaid on earlier major change with no sign of decreasing pace. Currently, Scotland is attempting a first whole-curriculum change along with an almost complete change of national qualifications and also the first-ever 3-18 MFL programme. Given the diminished resources available e.g. few significant council development services, no central curricular committees, no specific national curricular body and a diminished Inspectorate, this current position must be seen as a significant challenge to the capacity of governance structure and agency.

Stability and certainty are also issues here. Both Levacic's (1995) concerns about stability and Bowe and Ball's (1992, pp.140-141) consideration of the impact of uncertainty and complexity on change processes and effective governance suggest too-rapid change may result in 'ad hoc' management

practices, crisis management (1992, pp.165-166) and 'innovation overload' (Bowe & Ball, 1992, p.169; Lawrie, 2004, pp.74-75), making rational, sequential or cyclical governance difficult to achieve. The happenings of the late 1990s and early 2000s alone would tend to substantiate this (see Table 6.3). Changing structures within the timescale of this thesis have repeatedly generated instability, uncertainty and increased complexity, particularly in the Forsyth era, in the late 1990s and in the post-devolution era. Together, these changes can only be seen as having undermined effective governance.

Disconnection of Layers

> It is a set of 3 linked hierarchies - national, local authority and school - which suffer from relatively poor linkages.
> (M0016,senior local/national leader).

There is a final problem in inter-layer connection and networking. Although the national, local authority and school layers continue, the structures and the actors therein who provided linkages through multi-layer, multi-agency committees, joint working parties and personal relationships are notably fewer than in the growth days of the 1960s and 1970s. Both triumvirates, especially the Second, have lost communicative/ consultative/coercive capacity. Only SQA retains standing subject-based groups to support its work and no standing national or subject-based curricular committees exist. The permanent and seconded staff who once carried the message from SCCC or LTS (and brought back real-world responses) have largely gone. Inspections are shorter, not least because there are fewer inspectors, and so their ability to

moderate the system and impose the 'national message' is necessarily diminished, despite political statements about 'doing more with less'. This ultimately implies that, beyond the remaining HMIs and the remnants of LTS within an Education Scotland team which carries all their previous responsibilities, civil servants, relatively unused to dealing with the educational 'real world', and ministers, generally even more so, must attempt to carry some of the burden of linkage without the technical knowledge, time or capacity to accomplish this.

With the departure of Advisers and, increasingly, curriculum officers, subject staff (usually Principal Teachers) in authorities are increasingly left to carry forward developments. Secondary schools and, to a lesser extent, primary schools are no longer as tightly controlled by local authorities as they once were. Partially, this is due to fiscal and other forms of quasi-independence, partially to headteachers having found their collective voices and partially to the lack of directorate personnel to liaise with headteachers, deputes and PTs, leaving only infrequent headteacher meetings with Heads of Education and/or Directors to carry forward the authority/national agenda. M0016's and M0021's views on the 'relatively poor linkages' (M0016) between and within layers of governance come from significant experience thereof. The erosion of sub-layers (e.g. some agencies) and of personnel has further decreased the effectiveness of some and perhaps many linkages within the governance system. Together, these issues of (lack of) linkage constitute an insidious and growing erosion of the structure and capacity of educational governance.

Chapter 5 Agency and Culture in Scottish Educational Governance

The chapter considers agency and culture from three related standpoints, using data drawn from qualitative data (from the testimonies of key and elite governance actors, official/historical documentation and academic accounts) and from quantitative data on influence, support and power (from Likert scale questions) and on the effectiveness of governance cycles (from a bespoke quantitative tool).

In Section 5.1, using a parallel process to Section 4.1, the individuals and groups exercising agency within the macro- and meso-levels of Scottish educational governance are identified. The agency of micro-level governance actors and those outwith the system is also examined. In Section 5.2, the ways in which agency operates in governance are examined, with specific reference to actions, impact, influence, control and support. The desirability and existence of a governance cycle are considered and the elements of such a cycle are identified and analysed. Respondents' views on the nature and effectiveness of these elements of agency are then compared with findings from documentary and historical analysis. In Section 4.3, the effects of agency on structures, common purpose and interactions, as well as on MFL policy, practice and qualifications, are analysed. Each section is completed by a short summary but Section 5.4 also provides a holistic overview of these structural findings and considers the consequent issues.

5.1 'Elite' and 'Key' Governance Actors at the Macro and Meso Levels

5.1.1 Governance Actors: from Education Ministers to School Leaders

> The principal policy-makers in Scottish education today are the permanent officials at the SED (especially the Secretary), the Inspectors of Schools (a more powerful body in Scotland than in England), the local authority directors of education and the teachers' organisations.
>
> (Kellas, 1989, p.230)

Kellas wrote in the middle of the timescale of this study, two years after the Michael Forsyth's arrival as education minister. It is surprising, therefore, that Kellas highlighted only two parts of the First Triumvirate, given the impact Forsyth had already made on educational governance. However, his view of where power lay in the authority and school layers was in keeping with those of contemporaneous commentators, e.g. Humes, 1986; McPherson & Raab, 1988. His comments also confirm the enduring governance roles of civil servants and (less consistently) inspectors. As respondent M0021 indicates, 'Power lies nationally, although this is complex and subject to political, agency-generated and initiative-generated changes of direction'. Since Kellas' time and increasingly since 1996 - 2001, headteachers have also exercised considerable agency, although generally operating on a more local (but telling) scale. This chapter considers the actions and consequent impacts

of governance groups, and significant individual actors from these groups, as their actions determine the success of any initiative, whether whole-curricular or MFL-specific, in Scottish education.

Drawing on earlier findings from Chapters 2 and 4, Table 5.1 identifies these crucial governance actors and separates them into categories of ‘elite’ (despite Humes’ (1986) objection to the term) and ‘key’ governance actors. Once identified, their actions, grouped or individual, are thereafter analysed.

Table 5.1: Key and Elite Governance Actors in Scottish education

Layer	Elements	Sub-Elements	Status: Stable/Evolving
National	Political	▪ Cabinet Secretary	Usually a 2(-ish) - year turnover
		▪ Junior ministers	As above
	Administrative (CS – Civil Service)	▪ CS Directors	Fairly stable
		▪ CS Head of Curriculum Unit	Usually a short to medium term
		▪ Civil servants	Subject to a 3-year rotation
	Agencies	▪ HMSCI/Head of Edn. Scotland	Usually around a 10-year term, political appointment
		▪ HMCIs	Long- term, political appointment
		▪ HMIs	Long-term
		▪ Chairs of GTCS, SQA	Long-term, political appointment
		▪ Heads of GTCS, SQA	Long-term, political appointment
		▪ Agency managers	Usually long-term
		▪ Head of SCILT	Usually long-term
Local Authority	Political	▪ Leader of the Council	Usually for period between elections
		▪ Committee Convener	"
		▪ Councillors	"
		▪ Chief Executive	Long-term
	Directorate	▪ Director/equivalent	Usually long-term but less so lately
		▪ Head of Education	Fairly Stable
		▪ Other Directorate members	
		▪ Advisers/CDOs /QIOs	Disappearing
School	Senior Leaders	• Headteacher	Usually long-term
		• Depute HT	4-20 years
	Middle Managers	• Faculty Head	4-20 years
		• Principal Teachers (Subject and Guidance)	4-20 years
	Teachers	Trades Union leaders	Long-term
The 'Cloud'	Families/ Customers	• Leaders of parent organisations	Unpredictable
		• Parent Council chairs	2-5 years
	Industry/ Commerce	• CBI (Scotland) chair	Long-term
	Academic	• University principals	Long-term
		• University professors	Long-term
		• College principals	Long-term
	Other	• Newspaper editors	Unpredictable

Key:

: elite actors
: 'locally elite' actors

Those occupying highly influential positions (e.g. ministers, senior civil servants, senior inspectors, senior officers of national agencies) as leaders of thought and action in and beyond their governance layer are described as *elite*. Such actors (identified by the green highlight) in a national context have the capacity to make significant changes to Scottish education (and thus changes to MFLs). However, some actors are classified as *locally elite* (yellow highlight) if their role empowers them to make significant changes to education in their authority and/or schools but is unlikely to permit them to make nationally significant changes (although some individuals have achieved this). Directors of Education are highlighted in both colours as they are locally elite but a sufficient proportion of them have made elite contributions on a national scale to justify the classification (but see Section 5.4). 'Standard' HMIs are classified as locally elite as many make elite contributions to specific curricular areas or innovations but, in general, they do not have the individual 'reach' to change Scottish education in the wider context. Individual civil servants are listed as locally elite as even quite lowly civil servants (e.g. B1 and B2 grades) may control significant parts of Scottish education on behalf of their superiors and ministers. Union leaders and newspaper editors are also highlighted in yellow for similar reasons as they intermittently influence the whole system on specific issues. All other actors listed (without highlights) play *key* governance roles in education, either on a local or wider basis.

5.1.2 Groups and Individuals

The lack of prior research on Scottish educational governance meant that one of the key areas addressed by respondents' questionnaires and interviews was the role and nature of agency in governance, including policy development and implementation. Particular threads of questioning sought to identify who held the reins of power, the circumstances in which this power was/could be exercised, the permanency (or otherwise) of such arrangements and the benefits (or otherwise) accruing from this agency. The resulting evidence is presented in Section 5.2 under two sets of headings: a first set where the potential and actual agency of governance groups and individuals are considered to identify power, influence and the provision of support, and a second set where the elements of the politico-educational governance process and the extent of their effectiveness are considered.

Individual Agency and Impact

> Apart from Forsyth and Pignatelli, there have not really been major figures in Modern Languages.
>
> (M0016).

The views of school, local authority and national respondents were broadly consistent in seeing the *potential* for powerful individuals or groups to make a significant impact on governance. However, they also indicated that certain circumstances (e.g. believable vision, significant political support, ability to drive changes through and preferably, but not necessarily, a consensus)

would be required for individual impact to be significant and that asymmetry of power and resource meant that agency would be more likely in the national layer (or a very large local authority). M0001, M0012, M0016, M0021, M0026, M0036, M0042 and M0044 are representative in their views of where agency (group and individual) lies are clear:

> Ministers and government policy officials dominate through national policy initiatives.
>
> (M0026, national agency officer).

> Through the last forty years national politicians have driven their particular agenda regardless of the thoughts of the profession.
>
> (M0036, headteacher).

> Ideas usually emanate from the Scottish Government, or Scottish Office in the days before Devolution. There is usually a group who produce a report, which is then dissected and discussed by LAs, Education Scotland (or LTS), etc.
>
> (M0043, headteacher).

> Key agents would include the Cabinet Secretary; the Learning Directorate (though its capacity is reduced in this time of economic stringency); support from Education Scotland (especially the HMI Languages Specialist), SCILT, Universities and potentially Colleges.
>
> (M0044: headteacher).

However, respondents do see the *potential* for individual agency, given the appropriate circumstances:

> [Significant personal agency] can happen where they have a combination of power, reach and resources – for example, Forsyth …

> or Pignatelli. I'm not sure that too many others have had that combination.
>
> (M0001, local authority officer).

> Some key governance leaders have dominated, a very few in a positive sense, for example, Michael Forsyth, [pause] mostly, and several in a negative sense, for example Frank Pignatelli or Jack McConnell.
>
> (M0021, national agency officer).

> Although it is surprising to say it, the Forsyth, 'command economy' changes did have some positive effects.
>
> (M0021)

Respondent M0036 sounds a cautionary note about governmental approaches:

> …politicians have 'bright ideas' and it is up to officials and teachers to make it happen. Occasionally when a particularly strong politician appears, and is 'hands on' - for example, Michael Forsyth - developments can happen rapidly, and with some impact.
>
> (M0036).

Other respondents see less opportunity for individual agency on the part of Ministers or others in the current politico-educational circumstances:

> There are no significant individual actors at present.
>
> (M0012, senior authority officer).

> The role of the Education Minister has been downgraded since the high day of their influence in the 1990s (Michael Forsyth in particular). The Cabinet Secretary under the present government shows a leaning towards Gaelic rather than MFL, and the impact of personalisation and

> choice on MFL in the CfE Senior Phase has not yet caught the attention of the Scottish Government or the Cabinet Secretary.
>
> (M0043).

> Initiatives are frequently dependent on special funding and come to an end when funding ceases.
>
> (M0026)

Respondents' views are now further considered and compared with official documents and prior research in considering the specific agency of elite and key actors.

Government and Ministers

The agency of central government is founded on its duty (and capacity) to lead and manage the education system as a whole and is discharged, according to official documentation, through 'partnership'. Respondents to this study generally do not fully accept the partnership concept, although some local authority and national respondents maintain such a view. Respondents' general view is of a dominant First Triumvirate, albeit inhibited by its own inner complexities and limited in its support for initiatives. Typical views include:

> The national tier is by far the most important. The national layer works through the consensus of elites. National government have the biggest voice but SQA, Education Scotland, the EIS and the like also have some form of say.
>
> (M0016, directorate member)

> Power lies nationally, although this is complex and subject to political, agency-generated and initiative-generated changes of direction.
>
> (M0021).

> Ministers and government policy officials dominate through national policy initiatives.
>
> (M0026)

> Often the government, who ultimately decide budgets, support in word but not in resources.
>
> (M0052, depute headteacher)

Political Parties and Ministers

The highest-level MFL governance actors are Scottish education ministers. A few, principally Michael Forsyth and, to a lesser extent, Jack McConnell and Bruce Millan, have been the subject of academic research (e.g. Humes, 1995; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Paterson, 2000b, 2003). Most, however, have had only footnotes in wider analyses of Scottish politics. The almost unanimous consensus among 56 respondents is that, of the twenty-three ministers for education since 1962, only two - Michael Forsyth and Peter Peacock - have made a significant impact. Forsyth, with what was frequently described as 'surprise' or 'grudging admiration' by respondents, for his MFL (and wider) curricular initiatives and Peacock as the minister who, almost all respondents felt, most understood his brief and was most positively motivated to improve Scottish education. These two represent the ends of a spectrum of ministerial styles and yet they were equally valued – the former for what he did (rather than how he did it) and for the durability of some of his changes, however

painfully implemented; the latter for his commitment to education and learners, for involving others in this and, not least, for providing a brief respite to permit assimilation of the results of a period of intense and somewhat contradictory change.

Academic comment parallels respondents' views: Humes (1995)notes that Forsyth was 'relatively unmoved by the protests of teachers and protest groups' (p.126) but that he 'raised education on the Scottish political agenda' (*ibid*. p.114), a situation which continues, and left a 'legacy of policies' (*ibid*, p.114) to influence Scottish education. In contrast, as Gillies (2013, p.113) indicates, Peacock's 'sure-footed and inclusive style brought some calmness to the educational world and also ensured that what changes were introduced came with broad support and acceptance.' However, there is not a legacy of policy and practice to support Peacock's place alongside Forsyth, either in the context of MFLs, as Peacock played little or no role in attempting to improve MFLs (despite a significant HMI report, and less widely-circulated follow-up report, on CoaMW in 2005), or in the wider curricular context of *Curriculum for Excellence* where a minority (e.g. M0021, M0039, M0049) saw him as failing to ensure informed leadership of the initiative.

These two stand out from their peers. Partially, this is due to the non-political nature of education before the democratising initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s, partially to the rapid turnover of ministers between 1997 and 2007

(Peacock excepted) and partially, as McPherson and Raab attest (1988, p. 158) because education in the early to middle 1970s was neither a strong subject for some parties, nor a matter of settled policy for others. Thus, of the remaining Ministers, only two others, Jack McConnell and Helen Liddell, earned respondents' comments for their parts in the Citizens of a Multilingual World (BBC, 1998; MAG, 2000) development. The current Cabinet Secretary was mentioned only by a very few and almost always in the context of assertiveness or of failing to listen. Perhaps significantly, other than the present incumbent, Dr Allan, (because of current '1+2' developments), and Nicol Stephen (because of Curriculum Flexibility), junior education ministers were not mentioned by any respondents and barely register in any academic writing on MFL (or wider curricular) developments.

The ministers since 1962 with overall responsibility for education are listed in Appendix 5. As noted in Chapter 2, at the time of writing the average tenure (since 1962) of a Minister/Cabinet Secretary for Education is 2.18 years. The limited window within which ministers may make a contribution to educational governance was highlighted by a large minority of respondents as a significant issue, particularly if a sequence of ministers occurs over a short period of time (e.g. in the period from 1997 to 2003). McPherson and Raab also focus on this issue, describing Ministers as 'relatively transient' (1988, p.163). Along with brevity of tenure, respondents raised the associated lack of continuity of political leadership and, most commonly, their perceptions that individual ministers wished to leave a 'unique' legacy (with inevitable changes of

emphasis and some abandonments of initiatives) as causes of some of the issues affecting MFLs (and the wider curriculum).

The issue of Individual Ministerial Responsibility (IMR) for the success or failure of MFL initiatives was raised by several respondents, mostly national governance actors. Constitutional commentators (e.g. Clarence, 2002; Jowell & Oliver, 2000) generally see IMR as having been weakened significantly since the 1980s and 1990s and thus as now being more of a debating point than a reality. However, it remains a 'rhetoric tool, which can be called upon both positively as a device to assert democratic legitimacy and negatively as a device useful in criticizing or censuring a minister' (Clarence, 2002, p.793). In the context of Scottish education, there have been recent examples where IMR has come to the fore, notably in Sam Galbraith's perceived responsibility for the SQA crisis and in Fiona Hyslop's deteriorating relations with headteachers. Most respondents who raised this issue indicated that, with the rapid turnover of ministers in parts of the timescale of this study, responsibility spread across multiple agencies, changing responsibilities within and across NDPBs and the impact of devolution, it would be difficult to attribute praise or blame to an individual minister. In any event, it seems unlikely – with the exception of the current incumbent, whose tenure is now significant – that a minister might still be in post once the 10-15 year implementation span of an initiative revealed its success or failure. However, Ministers were seen by respondents as much more involved with education than other politicians: for example:

> apart from the ministers, they [politicians] don't seem to be involved.
>
> (M0001).

The Civil Service

> Civil servants hold a lot of this together: they are a very solid core of people who find it very difficult to envisage anything different from what they are doing at present.
>
> (M0016)

Although ministers may have the final *political* say on education, they necessarily have a close relationship with the civil servants who attempt to implement that vision. McPherson and Raab's view of the balance between civil servants and their minister is that they may 'know far more about the subject for which he [*sic*] is publicly responsible, and have more regular contacts with the policy community outside government. In turn, officials act in the Minister's name and cannot ignore his authority' (1988, p.154). Kellas (1989, p.230) was equally clear about the power of the permanent officials at the SED (especially the Secretary). He suggested that, for a Minister, 'an extended stay in office may be almost essential' if (s/)he 'is to become more than a tool of his civil servants' (*ibid*., p.42). This is mirrored by Humes in relation to the Forsyth period: 'Professionals and bureaucrats enjoy – certainly in comparison with politicians – a high measure of security of tenure. They may be side-lined for a time but they are still around when the climate changes.' (1995, p.129), thus providing an uneasy picture of officials

attempting to outlast their minister (and vice versa) to ensure that their own views become reality. Inevitably, given the periods of office identified in Appendix 5, this process would seem to slightly favour civil servants, although Michael Russell, the current Cabinet Secretary for Education, has outlasted most of his civil servants and is therefore able to perform a significant amount of 'steering'.

Civil servants carry out roles within a bureaucratic process. As such they operate, as Humes (1986, pp.16-17) suggested, within a hierarchy of authority, accountability and formal rules. Personal agency is difficult in such a system as impartiality must be seen to be maintained. As M0016 suggested, 'There is an identifiable mind-set which encases many civil servants – personal benefit doesn't really come into it.' Thus, although educational civil servants exercise considerable agency it is unlikely that this would be deployed for personal, rather than institutional, benefit.

Despite their potent First Triumvirate role in educational governance and their access to ministers, 'working on ministers and well as to them', as McPherson and Raab put it (1988, p.154), civil servants are generally viewed by respondents from outwith (and, in more limited cases, within) the triumvirates as 'unknown territory' (M0002, M0049), 'shadowy' (M0050) or 'anonymous' (M0015, M0021) and are seen as populating an 'unknown structure' (M0010) of their own (see Figure 4.1), possessing unknown remits and powers and embedded in a wider system where the status of educational civil servants

relative to other civil servants was entirely unclear. Again, M0001 summed up the feelings of others:

> I don't really know how they are structured. They seem hierarchical but they also seem to control other agencies to a reasonable extent. They don't really have a relationship with EA [Education Authority] staff. ….. Very few of them ever seem to get out into the real world to gain an understanding of what is done and what could/could not be done.
>
> (M0001).

Others operating within the two triumvirates, however, offered some insights into their workings. M0021 reflected on how hierarchy and the inherent mode of conduct of civil servants may impede educational civil servants' ability to promote their own policies in wider governmental or open meetings:

> …. the problem with the Civil Service is that they are driven by hierarchy, status and the desire not to 'lose face'. If you enter a meeting with them, it is worth watching them – they look around at the other civil servants, see who has the highest grading and that defines who sets the tone. The others then either say nothing or agree with the one who spoke. This means that, if the highest-ranked education official is outranked, they may not put their point across, and certainly won't push it. They may go back later to their superiors to try to find another way, but a decision may already have been made.
>
> (M0021).

M0021 is partially substantiated by McPherson and Raab (1988, p.173) and also by M0026, another national agency officer dealing with all levels of the Civil Service, whose view was that, 'much depends on which layer of civil servant you can access. If a report goes to senior civil servants, then there is a chance that, if the importance of the issues is clear, then they will act' (M0026). Humes (1986), however, takes the view that there *may* be aspects of self-advancement behind the facade and actions of civil servants.

Individual civil servants are generally perceived as ‘polite’, ‘pleasant’ and ‘positively motivated’, but sometimes as ‘aloof’, ‘distant’, ‘patronising’ or ‘inscrutable’. Around a fifth of respondents (M0001, M0003, M0012, M0013, M0020, M0021, M0026, M0027, M0036, M0044, M0049, M0081) believed they knew what *some* civil servants saw as MFL priorities but only a subset of these felt they knew how the civil service participated in educational governance. The view of respondents (e.g. M0063, M0064) with civil service experience, however, is generally much closer to the official ‘partnership’ line. They see civil servants as supporting and promoting ministerial policies but also as attempting to create or strengthen partnerships to improve the educational system, depending on the political priorities of the day. However, they do not profess to understand what happened some time ago or to be aware of lessons drawn from prior events, often because they themselves have had a very short-term involvement with education. This lack of long-term experience and of a historical perspective may be a significant flaw for the very organisation which embodies continuity and stability.

HMIe, Agencies and NDPBs

The changing roles and structures of the departmental agencies (e.g. HMI pre-2000, Education Scotland), executive agencies (e.g. HMIe 2000-2011) and Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) (e.g. GTCS, LTS, SEB/SQA) were discussed in Chapter 4. Commentators have traditionally seen the Inspectorate as exerting significant, but fluctuating, agency and power (McPherson & Raab, 1988) and have charted the difficulties of curricular

agencies (Boyd, 2013, Humes, 1986; Ross, 1999; Young, 1986) while noting the ability of the teacher and qualifications agencies to generally avoid conflict with government (the SQA 2000 situation notwithstanding). McPherson and Raab (1988) emphasised the 'political' rationale for the establishment of agencies over the workload aspect, suggesting SED orchestrated this to replace 'a potentially synoptic Advisory Council with a segmented array of bodies, each with a restricted remit, co-ordinated mainly through the Inspectorate' (1988, p.459). McKenzie, writing in TESS (27/02/1997), agrees that this constituted a process of 'divide and rule' by the First Triumvirate. However, McPherson & Raab also note that, depending on their own status at any given time, HMI could struggle to control the agencies (1988, p.264).

Respondents displayed very mixed views of agencies and their members. Some, mostly headteachers, saw them as expanding in power and influence:

> agencies such as LTS and HMIE have grown in importance. SQA also has a huge influence in MFLs, as in many other subjects, as they direct what is to be examined, and thus what is taught in many [allegedly] "traditional" schools. Many of these bodies are not accountable to anyone.
>
> (M0043).

Others, from across layers, saw the 'new' agency, Education Scotland, as diminished and perhaps uncertain of its role:

> Education Scotland seems much smaller – there are fewer inspectors (and inspections); but very few seem to be left on the LTS/curricular side.
>
> (M0001)

> There have been mixed messages from Education Scotland.
>
> (M0044, headteacher).

In general, the Inspectorate (particularly the three most recent Language specialists) were positively viewed by school and authority respondents in the MFL context:

> There have been some *very* good MFL HMI specialists.
>
> (M0001).

> The recent Language specialists in HMi have been well-motivated, effective and approachable.
>
> (M0049, headteacher)

> HMIs are essential to developing quality, but there are fewer specialists now.
>
> (M0050, depute headteacher).

It perhaps indicates the difficulty of looking within the triumvirates that only McPherson and Raab (1988) have considered in depth the agency of their individual leaders, although there are references in Boyd (2013). However, some respondents with insight into agency working and staff capacity also commented. For example:

> LTS never understood who its customers really were: EAs and schools had perfectly legitimate claims on their services but LTS tended to try to satisfy the government, mostly since they provided the finance.
>
> (M0016)

> There seems to be a weakness of strategic leadership in Education Scotland.
>
> (M0021).

> The agencies generally mean well in principle but the quality of staff varies. They do cooperate but there also seem to be tensions.
>
> (M0001)

The last point was echoed by M0021 in describing several meetings where agencies appeared either to hold back information from other agencies and/or civil servants or to present information in a certain manner which would be beneficial to their own agency's 'game plan'.

Local Authorities and Directors:

> A major part of the trouble is the persistent and increasing weakness of the middle local authority layer.
>
> (M0016).

The agency of councillors, directors and authority officers is underpinned by two factors: their legal responsibility for education in their area and their capacity to carry out the required tasks. The legal responsibility to provide 'adequate and effective provision of school education' (UK government, 1980) is enshrined in the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1945, 1962 and 1980 and the additional responsibility to 'secure improvement in the quality of school education' (Scottish Executive, 2000) in the Standards in Scotland's Schools

etc. Act 2000. Councils' apparent freedom (and duty) to govern school-based education has long been highlighted by central government which 'does not run any schools'. However, Bloomer's (1999) more realistic view of this was quoted in Section 4.1.

As rehearsed in Chapter 4, local authority leadership was increasingly strong in several Regions, particularly Strathclyde, during the period from 1975 to 1996 and this appeared to continue with the prominence of Directors Keir Bloomer, Bob MacKay and Michael O'Neill in the Millennium Review. However, even at this point, the dilutions and cuts inherent in the move to unitary authorities were eroding the ability of authorities to maintain a breadth and depth of leadership. Respondents felt this to be true, both in general and in the case of MFLs:

> It is difficult to see what role education authorities have played here [i.e. in MFL governance] in other than a very few authorities. This means that a major layer of governance seems to be missing.
>
> (M0021).

> I see the problem lying in [the] role of local authorities and lack of freedom and resources for HTs, as well as the lack of understanding of how the different agencies fit. This is not effective and can be frustrating.
>
> (M0044).

> Modern Languages hasn't been a major priority for any authority with which I'm familiar.
>
> (M0012, directorate member)

> A series of national initiatives implemented with varying degrees of success and commitment at local level.
>
> (M0026).

> EAs are being required to have a '1+2' policy but haven't shown an interest in/commitment to MFL since de-regionalisation.
>
> (M0021).

Some respondents, generally headteachers, also expressed concern about increasing bureaucracy in local authorities and about growing 'corporatisation' by councils and/or chief executives:

> Ideas for change have often been good but they have become bogged down in the process of change in Scottish Education, which has to have backing by 32 authorities in a bureaucratic system.
>
> (M0043).

> We further complicate the game by giving Chief Executives, for example, with no understanding of school education, control over school budgets, or, in another example, giving enormous power to an unaccountable Inspectorate. These potential rogue elements confuse the chain of command, so that even where there is a clear political will … there are just too many competing forces at play.
>
> (M0041, headteacher).

> Our director often paints a picture of himself defending educational initiatives in corporate team meetings and of the chief executive and other directors proposing changes to educational policies and initiatives. It is very difficult to work out how much of this is true, and if so why, or if he is using them as a decoy to disguise his own manipulation of the situation.
>
> (M0049, headteacher)

A significant majority of respondents (with some dissenters, largely local authority officers) mourned the passing of regional subject advisers and considered Quality Improvement Officers (QIOs) to be a lesser or ineffective substitute (although several made clear that it was the post which was ineffective, not the individual). The departure of Foreign Language Assistants, another valued post from regional times, was also highlighted by several respondents. These comments are typical:

> The influence of Advisers (not generic QIOs) has disappeared; they were a vital source of support, help and resources for many departments. Therefore the role of LAs has also been reduced. Most MFL developments come straight down to departments from Scottish Government, Education Scotland, etc.
>
> (M0043).

> Advisers were essential but have departed.
>
> (M0050).

> [There has been] a gradual reduction in support at LA level – now there are QIOs without subject knowledge and/or responsible for too many areas.
>
> (M0023).

> A lot depends on the support, or lack of it, at local authority level. Is there a dedicated QIO? Does the QIO pass on information, visit schools or have the subject knowledge to judge situations?
>
> (M0023).

> …. major problems due to a collapse in use of foreign language assistants by local authorities.
>
> (M0043).

Only a very few respondents, all from local authorities, expressed positive views about the agency of local authority officers (other than advisers) and none about the part played by councillors. A number of authority personnel were critical of the work of councils after 1996 and one (M0013) suggested local authorities had played a significant role in the failure of *Citizens of a Multilingual World*. However, this comment about a specific council initiative is representative of only two instances of a positive view of council intervention in MFL governance:

> [Initiatives such as] "Partners in Excellence" led to improvement in MFL, largely because of teacher leadership and empowerment, new methodologies and improved use of technology and pupil motivation. (M0013).

Headteachers and Schools:

As noted in Chapter 4, headteachers have previously either been largely ignored by researchers, or seen as a subset of the set of teachers or local authority officials. Perhaps reflecting changes in Scottish education since McPherson and Raab (1988) and Humes (1986), most respondents saw headteachers (sometimes with deputes) as a specific governance group, but with significant individual variation therein: 'a force for good or for ill, depending on their actions' (M0030), but a force nevertheless. Some respondents did not see headteachers in a positive light with respect to MFLs (although they were usually not the only governance actors seen in a negative light) and these views came from all three layers of governance:

> The HT plays a crucial role in whether MFL grows or shrinks within the school. Far too many are hostile to, or uninterested in, MFL.
>
> (M0001)

> The role of HTs has increased and, with the squeeze on resources, many HTs have restricted (and in some schools strangled) MFLs, by abandoning any vestige of a diversification policy and retrenching with French only – again a vicious circle which will lead to a drop in numbers studying MFLs in the senior phase.
>
> (M0043).

> Negative trends are mainly due to the influence of headteachers, many of whom have a poor view of MFLs – this applies both to MFL staff and to MFLs which they see as not a 'fun' subject. They blame the decline on CfE, finance, staffing problems, lack of time in the curriculum for new subjects and poor results.
>
> (M0003, authority officer).

> Headteachers and education directorates are both responsible for the collapse of MLs: the former because so many of them see MLs as a minority subject or a source of poor attainment, the latter because they have mostly ignored MFLs since 'Languages for All' and have removed the main council support officers.
>
> (M0049).

The wider school senior management team did not escape criticism. Timetablers were often held responsible for aspects of MFL difficulties, perhaps avoiding the point that relatively few headteachers would permit the timetable to dictate the curriculum, raising the question of whether some headteachers might find it convenient to have a reason for not being able to pursue MFLs:

> HTs and senior managers can have a strong influence – either positive or negative.
>
> (M0026).

> I have a concern that there may be a lack of balance in HT/SMT views of the school curriculum e.g. the place of Languages and the Arts in education.
>
> (M0013, authority officer)

> Timetabling issues have resulted in Russian, German and even French not being easily timetabled.
>
> (M0005, authority officer)

> Delegated budgets have significantly impacted: also appointment of staff by HT at local/school level, a very significant development.
>
> (M0013).

However, several headteachers stated a rationale for school control of the curriculum, citing the needs of learners, poor quality teaching and leadership in some MFL departments and the need to improve attainment as primary causes:

> HTs must be able to lead in their own schools, inspired by strategic direction but not controlled by it.
>
> (M0043).

A large minority (8/18) of headteachers indicated they had ‘run down’ (M0050) MFLs in their school, either because they believed MFL results were damaging their school’s attainment, because they felt poor MFL teaching damaged pupils’ learning or because they perceived that pupils were not

interested in MFLs. This last point was exemplified by M0033 who indicated that MFLs were not a priority as they did not 'float my pupils' boats'. However, headteachers are required to ensure that pupils have an appropriate set of learning pathways and this includes MFLs for all in S1-3 and as a viable option in S4-6. There seems to be an issue in that some headteachers' solution to perceived teaching/attainment problems is not to improve teaching and/or motivate pupils but to minimise the subject. MFLs are not the only subject to suffer thus since Circular 3/2001 and particularly since the introduction of *Curriculum for Excellence* into S4 (Secondary Year 4) in 2013, although they are the most recognisable instance discernible from available data.

Remarkably, neither academic commentators nor respondents raised the role of the depute headteacher (other than those responsible for timetabling) despite the MFL overview role carried out by one depute in every school, generally with a remit for Language in the widest sense. Despite specific supplementary questions to a range of headteachers and authority personnel, no significant views were expressed on the work or impact of deputes in this context, raising issues about the extent to which this is valued by headteachers and the extent of impact made by the deputes.

5.1.3 Micro-Level and 'Peripheral' Actors

The agency and impact of micro-level actors is not the focus of this study yet much existing research has focused on this, seeking reasons for MFL decline in 'negative agency' by MFL staff: poor teaching, elitism, poor departmental leadership, along with poor pupil/parent perceptions of MFLs and poor pupil motivation. Almost inevitably, the views of a significant majority of school/authority respondents covered these areas.

MFL staff

Respondents' views of the actions and impact of MFL teachers were mixed. Some, including a majority of headteachers and a minority of authority staff, saw poor MFL teaching as a cause of 'some' to 'most' MFL problems. Others – a minority of headteachers but a majority of local authority MFL officers (generally ex-MFL teachers themselves) - saw MFL teachers striving against a negative tide generated elsewhere, generally by uncooperative pupils and 'negative' school senior management teams:

> Wherever there have been improvements, it is down to good engaging teaching and learning with committed, enthusiastic and capable teachers who know their subject but also know where the students are 'coming from'.
>
> (M0041).

> …. at the end it is really up to the MFL staff in schools to implement any new projects.
>
> (M0043).

> The MFL Excellence Report makes it very clear that good teachers can't change the situation on their own – so much depends on the ethos of the school and the support of SMT.
>
> (M0023).

> Modern Languages staff themselves have had to come to terms with the changing nature of their subject. In particular, in my view, a move away from ML being for the 'bright kids' aiming for university. In those circumstances the ML staff have sometimes been a 'drag' on new developments in a misguided attempt to preserve the *status quo ante*.
>
> (M0036, headteacher).

> I was never fortunate enough to be in a school where the ML staff took leadership roles or demonstrated excellent practice. Indeed, in some instances the school was trying to minimise the harmful effects of mediocre teaching.
>
> (M0045, headteacher).

> It is difficult to get Italian or Spanish into the curriculum – indeed, in my last school, the PT Mod Lang [sic] was bitterly opposed to these.
>
> (M0041).

> … poor traditional learning and teaching in many schools.
>
> (M0043).

Principal Teachers were also the subject of comments, generally of a negative nature, by a minority of respondents:

> The quality of MFL PTs has been very variable.
>
> (M0050).

> The move away from Principal Teachers to Heads of Faculty has not been a positive one as there is often no subject specialist to lead.
>
> (M0021).

These comments echo concerns raised by HMIe in what, surprisingly, was their last comprehensive report on MFLs, the 1998 report. The report (HMI, 1998) indicated that only 75% of departments met S1/2 pupils' needs well or very well and that this fell to 65% in S3/4. Teaching and learning were good in 65% of all cases in S1/2 and 60% of all cases in S3/4. The parallel figures were higher in S5/6 but many pupils had decided not to continue with MFLs by that stage. In seeking a reason for this relative weakness in S1-4, HMI noted that 30% of PTs, including some in good departments, showed significant weaknesses in their work and only 55% of departments were judged to be good or very good.

A few former MFL Principal Teachers had their own views, for example:

> Too often we were left to the departmental requisition which would not stretch to cover the introduction of ICT, new sets of course materials, etc. Some things were supplied by the Adviser but the school did not provide extra resources.
>
> (M0051, depute, ex-MFL PT)

Others

The agency of a few other governance actors – generally the press, companies and universities - was also commented upon, particularly by

headteachers:

> Market forces do not have any direct influence on MFL governance structures; however press coverage and business reports do seep into the subconscious.
>
> (M0023, national agency).

> …. the electors, at national and local government [levels], … could exercise electoral power should they wish to do so; the media, who exercise enormous power in shaping the terms of civic debate on this and similar issues and the various lobby groups to whom politicians pay attention. Students also exercise considerable power through their choices and motivation.
>
> (M0041).

> The role of industry and commerce is weak and should be given more weight, especially as they see the importance of the role of MFL in the addressing nation's economic growth problems.
>
> (M0043).

> Tertiary education can also be regarded as a bit of a dead hand, as they to do not encourage language learning as an entry qualification in many areas, where it would be helpful.
>
> (M0043).

> A lack of collaboration with, and among, universities to support MFLs.
>
> (M0044).

Very few respondents suggested that pupils or parents had exerted significant agency, although this may be an assumptive issue given the traditional structures of Scottish educational governance. This conflicts, however, with the limited amount of research which places societal/parental rejection of

MFLs and lack of pupil interest and motivation as major contributors to the decline of MFLs.

SUMMARY

Agency within Scottish educational governance is:

- Exercised by both individual and groups operating within the three hierarchical layers of governance.
- Exercised by elite and key governance actors at the macro- and micro-levels.
- Nationally carried out by the First Triumvirate (politicians, (particularly) civil servants and inspectors), but also by national agencies which carry out detailed roles that the First Triumvirate cannot or will not and can thus cause significant amendments to policy or initiatives.
- Locally carried out by councils (councilors, (particularly) directorate members and advisers/QIOs) which are legally responsible for the improvement of education but circumscribed by national control of resources and policy.
- Carried out in schools by (particularly) headteachers, deputes, faculty heads, principal teachers and teachers, with clear examples of local amendment of national/council policies and initiatives.
- Exercised by parents and pupils in a limited exercise of market-based governance, but not from a position of strength.
- Not usually governed by the agency of the most elite.
- Historically mostly a balance between the Inspectorate and the Civil Service, but headteachers have increasing local agency.

Across levels, respondents display similarities of view about the principal aspects of this summary but the views of some First Triumvirate members and a few local authority Directorate members diverge from all others.

5.2 Agency: individual, grouped and layered

> I sometimes wished that I could just make up my mind about something and say that that would be the end of it, instead of saying, 'Well, this is what I think ought to happen, now please consult people about this'; and then they come back about a year later and say that they are sorry, but everybody is all over the place.
>
> (Bruce Millan, Education Minister 1966-70, quoted in McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. ix)

The epigraph above comes from the second-longest serving post-war Minister, reflecting on a period of relative calm and consensus. Yet, with the exception of the Forsyth years (Humes, 1995; HMI, 1990), the description chimes well with the description of educational governance offered by respondents, particularly interviewees. It describes a situation where the agency of those within governance layers modifies, and possibly inhibits, attempts to implement 'top-down' educational governance. It also implies, rather than states, the existence of debate and conflicting views and, finally, the time penalty imposed by meaningful consultation and the consequent delays in implementation. There is no suggestion of malice, however, or of deliberate attempts to 'put a spanner in the works'.

In questioning respondents, the reverse of Millan's frustration is evident:

> Often the government (who ultimately decide budgets) support in word but not in resources. The current example of this must be Mandarin and the extensive talking and writing that has taken place without any funding appearing to support what is being talked about.
>
> (M0052: depute headteacher).

> Most of the flow is downwards, with very little upwards.
>
> (M0043).

> The ability to make it work and the ability to control MFL developments are in an inverse relation.
>
> (M0050).

As may be seen in Appendices 12 and 14, a major focus of the questionnaire and interviews lay in identifying specific aspects of agency. This process was broken down into two views of agency. The first explored the influence of governance actors on MFLs, their ability (and desire) to support, promote and develop MFLs and their ability to control how MFLs were developed and provided. The second view identified and quantified elements which embody the practical application of agency in attempting to envision, plan, implement, evaluate and improve developments. These elements were examined to ascertain the extent of action taken by governance actors and the extent of impact generated by theses actions.

5.2.1 Influence, Control and Support

> If enough people, or even a few people who are powerful enough to, act in innovative ways, their action may have the consequence of transforming the very structures that gave them the capacity to act.
> (Sewell, 1992, p.4)

In seeking to explore this first insight into agency, all respondents were asked to complete Likert scale questions on influence, support and control (see Appendix 8). This was further explored in depth through the interviews but questionnaire recipients also had opportunities to record extended thoughts in free text boxes within the questionnaire. Table 5.2 demonstrates findings on the first of these areas: the extent of actors' influence over MFL provision, teaching and attainment:

Table 5.2: Agency and Influence

Respondents	All Respondents		National Actors		EA Actors		School Actors	
Categories of Governance Actor	F (n/25)	Mean Value	F (n/7)	Mean Value	F (n/7)	Mean Value	F (n/11)	Mean Value
Natl./loc. political								
UK Government	47	1.9	10	1.8	15	1.6	22	2.1
Scottish Govt.	47	5.3	10	5.7	15	5.0	22	5.2
Cab. Sec. for Edn	47	5.0	10	5.4	15	4.9	22	5.0
Governing MSPs	47	3.6	10	3.8	15	3.7	22	3.5
Opposition MSPs	47	2.3	10	2.5	15	2.0	22	2.3
LA: Edn Convener	46	3.1	9	3.0	15	3.2	22	3.1
C'llors (ruling)	46	2.7	9	2.3	15	2.9	22	2.6
C'llors (opposition)	46	1.8	9	1.7	15	1.9	22	1.9
Bureaucratic Actors								
Sen. civil servants	47	4.2	10	4.9	15	4.3	22	3.9
Other civil servants	47	3.1	10	3.2	15	3.4	22	3.0
Agency Actors								
HMSCI/Head of ES	47	4.6	10	4.1	15	4.9	22	4.6
HMCI (Curriculum)	47	4.4	10	3.6	15	4.5	22	4.7
HMI (Languages)	47	4.4	10	4.3	15	4.3	22	4.4
Other HMIs	47	3.1	10	2.9	15	3.1	22	3.3
Other Edn. Scot. personnel	45	2.9	10	2.5	15	2.9	20	3.1
Chief Exec. of SQA	47	3.6	10	3.5	15	3.7	22	3.5
SQA S.M.T.	47	3.0	10	3.2	15	2.9	22	3.0
SQA MFL Manager	47	3.6	10	3.7	15	3.8	22	3.4
Head of SCILT	48	3.7	10	4.3	15	3.8	23	3.4
LEA Officers								
Chief Executive	47	3.0	10	3.2	15	3.1	22	2.9
Corporate Man.T.	47	2.7	10	2.5	15	2.7	22	2.8
Director of Edn.	48	4.6	10	4.6	15	5.1	23	4.2
Head of Edn.	47	4.3	10	4.3	15	4.9	22	3.9
Other Directorate	47	2.8	10	2.6	15	3.4	22	2.5
MFL CEOs/QIO(s)	46	3.3	10	3.3	15	4.1	21	2.8
School Actors								
Pupils	48	3.3	10	2.9	15	2.9	23	3.8
Parents	48	3.4	10	3.2	15	3.3	23	3.5
The Parent Council	48	3.0	10	2.9	15	2.8	23	3.1
School community	48	2.6	10	2.3	15	2.6	23	2.8
Headteacher (HT)	48	5.5	10	5.4	15	5.5	23	5.5
DHT w.r.f. MFL	48	4.4	10	4.3	15	4.6	23	4.3
Other SMT	48	3.6	10	3.6	15	3.5	23	3.7
Timetabler	48	4.3	10	4.3	15	4.5	23	4.0
Fac. Head MFL	39	4.7	10	4.4	15	4.9	14	4.8
PT MFL (if exists)	41	4.6	10	4.4	15	4.8	17	4.6
MFL teachers	48	4.3	10	3.5	15	4.7	23	4.2
Other Gov. Actors								
Universities	48	3.3	10	3.7	15	3.5	23	3.0
FE Colleges	48	2.2	10	1.8	15	2.6	23	2.2
Teaching Unions	48	2.4	10	2.8	15	2.6	23	2.1
Scot. Companies	48	2.2	10	2.3	15	2.3	23	2.2

Key:

Values (scores out of 6):

1. No influence
2. Very little influence
3. A little influence
4. Quite a bit of influence
5. Significant influence
6. Very significant influence

Meaning of Cell Colouration:

- most influential
- second most influential
- third most influential
- fourth most influential

Frequency (f) – number of respondents in that category who provided an answer

Mean value = frequency / total number of respondents in that category

The table includes results from 56 respondents, 9 of whom did not answer any part of the question and 22 of whom omitted some parts of the question. The classes of governance actor selected as most influential by all respondents were headteachers (mean value: 5.5/6), closely followed by the Scottish Government (5.3/6), the Cabinet Secretary for Education (5.0/6) as an individual agent and then the school faculty head or principal teacher for MFLs. The highest-scoring local authority actors were Directors of Education with 4.6/6 and the highest-scoring agency actors were HMSCI with 4.6/6.

The results relating to each governance layer bear consideration. National politicians are not seen as having significant influence apart from the Scottish Government as a whole and, to a slightly lesser extent, the Minister for Education, although governing party MSPs are perceived to have some limited influence. Senior civil servants only scored 4.2: more than government MSPs but not as much as HMSCI or the HMCIs or the Languages specialist HMI, despite other findings indicating that they possess considerable influence. As will be seen later when considering the mutual views of the national, local authority and school respondents,

this is not a view held by national respondents who see senior civil servants as immediately behind the government, the minister and the headteacher in terms of influence held, thus highlighting the differing viewpoints of governance actors and the issue that civil servants' powers and duties are not well understood by those beyond the national layer of governance. Senior national agency officers fare better than most politicians or lower-level civil servants, although the Chief Executive of SQA is surprisingly lowly rated (3.6) given the commonly-held respondent view that SQA's hold over the secondary curriculum is strong.

Local politicians, even Education Conveners, are seen as having little influence at best; Appendix 9 also suggests that almost all interviewees see local politicians as making no input to MFL governance. Of local authority officers, only directors and heads of education are considered to have more than a little influence. The lack of influence of MFL QIOs confirms other findings in this study, but is of concern if MFLs are to be effectively represented and promoted within local authorities. Respondents from a small minority (6%) of authorities reported some degree of corporate influence on education policy.

In schools, all layers of staff are seen as influential and this reflects a wider view of respondents that school actors, particularly the headteacher and PT or Faculty Head for Modern Languages, are highly significant actors in the governance and provision of MFLs. Sadly (but unsurprisingly), pupils and parents are not seen as influential. The Parent Council is seen as less influential than individual parents,

substantiating aspects of Chapter 4 regarding parental rejection of School Boards and the decline in status/influence from School Boards to Parent Councils.

These findings reflect a fairly consistent view of agency across all respondents in seeing the Scottish Government (and its education minister) as one powerful agent of governance and the local headteacher as the other. All other governance actors are, to greater or lesser extents depending on the question, considered to be less powerful or significant. The issues arising from mutual perceptions are best seen as a whole and therefore these issues are brought together in a specific sub-section after Table 5.5.

Table 5.3 illustrates respondents' views on the ability of elite and key governance actors to use their agency to support and promote MFLs.

Table 5.3: Agency – Ability to Support and Promote MFL Learning and Teaching

Respondents	All Respondents			National Actors			EA Actors			School Actors		
Categories of Governance Acto	f	Mean Value (f/20)	Rank	f	Mean Value (f/5)	Rank	f	Mean Value (f/5)	Rank)	f	Mean Value (f/10)	Rank)
Parents	47	4.5	5	9	4.3	3	15	5.3	5	23	4.0	5
MFL Teachers	47	2.3	2	9	1.8	1	15	2.3	2	23	2.6	2
Headteachers	47	2.4	1	9	3.0	2	15	2.2	1	23	2.3	1
Dirs. Of Edn.	47	3.9	4	9	4.7	4=	15	3.4	4	23	3.8	4
Councillors	47	7.6	8	9	7.3	8	15	7.1	7	23	8.1	8
MSPs	47	6.7	6	9	6.3	6	15	6.5	6	23	7.0	7
Scot. Govt.	47	3.7	3	9	4.7	4=	15	3.3	3	23	3.6	3
UK Govt.	47	8.8	10	9	8.6	10	15	9.0	10	23	8.3	9=
Unions	47	8.2	9	9	7.6	9	15	8.4	9	23	8.3	9=
Companies	47	7.0	7	9	6.8	7	15	7.5	8	23	6.8	6

Key:

a) Values:

1 – Greatest ability to support /promote MFL learning **to** 10 – Least ability to support/promote MFL

b) Frequency and Mean Value definitions as in Table 5.2

c) Colouring as in Table 5.2

This table includes the results from 56 respondents, 9 of whom did not answer any part of the question. The nine, national and authority respondents, gave no reasons for omitting this question. The governance actors selected by respondents as most able to support and promote MFLs were MFL teachers (mean value: 2.3), closely followed by headteachers (2.4). After a gap, the Scottish Government (3.7) were rated third and, after a further gap, directors of education were rated fourth (3.9). Individual respondents' ratings are shown in Appendix 10.

These results confirm the importance of headteachers and the Scottish government in governing MFLs but also provide a specific focus on where support and positive messages must come from. Respondents expected positive, promotional messages to come from the headteacher and the MFL teacher. The Scottish government, councils and parents also clearly have a role to play but there is a gap between the top two and these three. Other groups are not seen as having a significant role in the promotion or support of MFLs. There is an obvious concern that Scottish companies, which frequently demand greater MFL competence from recruits, are seen as playing no part

here. Although the UK government has no role in governing Scottish education, it might also have been seen as having a wider promotional role for MFLs, but this is clearly not so.

In interviews, respondents stated a narrow majority view that headteachers should, as the leader of education in their area, promote MFLs fairly and accurately and should embody this in their school's curricular structure, although this was contested (at times strongly) by 48% of headteachers who suggested that pupil/parent choice was paramount and their role simply to respond to this. Such headteacher conversations almost always overlapped with comments about poor teaching of MFL and the need to improve attainment. There was also a (small) majority view across interviewees that, with the exceptions of the clear Forsyth and '1+2' messages on the importance of language learning, there had not been a sufficient level of promotion of MFLs by governments. A minority of respondents, particularly from local authorities and schools, suggested that the '1+2' publicity was not particularly focused on MFLs but rather on community languages, with two local authority officers (M0004, M0015) suggesting that their authority might be more likely to expand Gaelic than MFLs, due to the availability of funding for the former.

Table 5.4 illustrates respondents' views on the ability of elite and key governance actors to use their agency to control the teaching and learning of MFLs.

Table 5.4: Agency – Ability to Control MFL Learning and Teaching

Respondents	All Respondents			National Actors			EA Actors			School Actors		
Categories of Governance Acto	f	Mean Value (f/20)	Rank	f	Mean Value (f/5)	Rank	f	Mean Value (f/5)	Rank)	f	Mean Value (f/10)	Rank)
Parents	45	5.4	5	9	6.1	7	14	5.9	5	22	4.9	5
MFL Teachers	45	4.4	4	9	5.6	4	14	4.4	4	22	4.0	4
Headteachers	45	2.1	1	9	3.1	2	14	1.9	1	22	1.9	1
Dirs. Of Edn.	45	3.2	3	9	4.0	3	14	2.8	3	22	3.1	3
Councillors	45	6.9	7	9	5.9	6	14	7.9	8	22	6.6	6=
MSPs	45	6.3	6	9	5.6	5	14	6.1	6	22	6.6	6=
Scot. Govt.	45	2.6	2	9	2.1	1	14	2.4	2	22	2.8	2
UK Govt.	45	8.7	10	9	8.6	10	14	9.0	9	22	8.5	9=
Unions	45	7.5	8	9	6.3	8	14	7.6	7	22	8.0	8
Companies	45	8.5	9	9	7.8	9	14	9.1	10	22	8.5	9=

Key:

a) Values:

1 – Greatest ability to control MFL learning **to** 10 – Least ability to control MFL

b) Frequency and Mean Value definitions as in Table 5.2

c) Colouring as in Table 5.2

The table includes results from 56 respondents, 11 of whom did not answer any part of the question. Four of the respondents gave reasons for omitting this question, with one EA and two national respondents specifically declining and one school respondent indicating it was 'too difficult to answer'. Headteachers (mean value: 2.1) were considered to be the strongest agent of control, quite closely followed by the Scottish Government (2.6). This is consistent with results from other tables. Directors of Education, who had not rated highly in influence or support and promotion of MFLs, were rated third (3.2) in control. There was then a gap to MFL teachers (4.4/10), with parents

fifth and MSPs in sixth behind the leaders. All other classes of actor received low values, although unions rated slightly higher in this than in other contexts. Individual respondents' ratings are shown in Appendix 10.

Interviews confirmed this, with almost all respondents identifying the headteacher and Scottish government as the principal agents. There was, however, discussion over the role of local authorities. Councillors were not seen as taking any lead on MFLs and this seemed to be consistent across authorities, unlike other aspects of local authority involvement. Directors were seen to be reasonably strongly involved in control, but not influence or support, and interviewees quoted staffing decisions, directorial control (or not) of primary cluster decisions on MFL choice and whether the authority 'pushed Languages' (e.g. M0050) as examples. However, this last aspect did not stand scrutiny when school/authority actors were asked about their own director: three current/recent directors were identified as being actively pro-Languages, four were seen as 'more positive than hostile' (M0053) but all others (a large majority) were described as uninterested or, in some cases, hostile. Given the overall rating that directors were reasonably strong agents in the governance of MFLs, this appears to imply that directors are not a positive factor in promoting this national priority. Two of the directors interviewed made it clear that they had other, more pressing priorities than MFLs, e.g. deprivation, inclusion, achieving positive, sustained destinations for their pupils, health and wellbeing and the basics of literacy and numeracy. Authority QIOs were not included in the list but, along with advisers, were

raised by almost all interviewees. A (large) majority view confirmed the earlier findings presented in the Local Authority sub-section of Section 5.1 that QIOs were generally seen in a positive light as individuals (with limited exceptions) but were almost exclusively seen as having insufficient 'reach' (M0007), 'clout' (M0049) or 'resource' (M0051) to cause changes in authorities' approach to MFLs.

5.2.2 Action and Impact

The second view of agency sought to identify the elements which embody the practical application of agency in attempting to envision, plan, implement, support, evaluate and amend developments. These elements were examined to ascertain the extent of action taken by governance actors, the extent of impact generated by these actions and whether they were cyclical or disjoint.

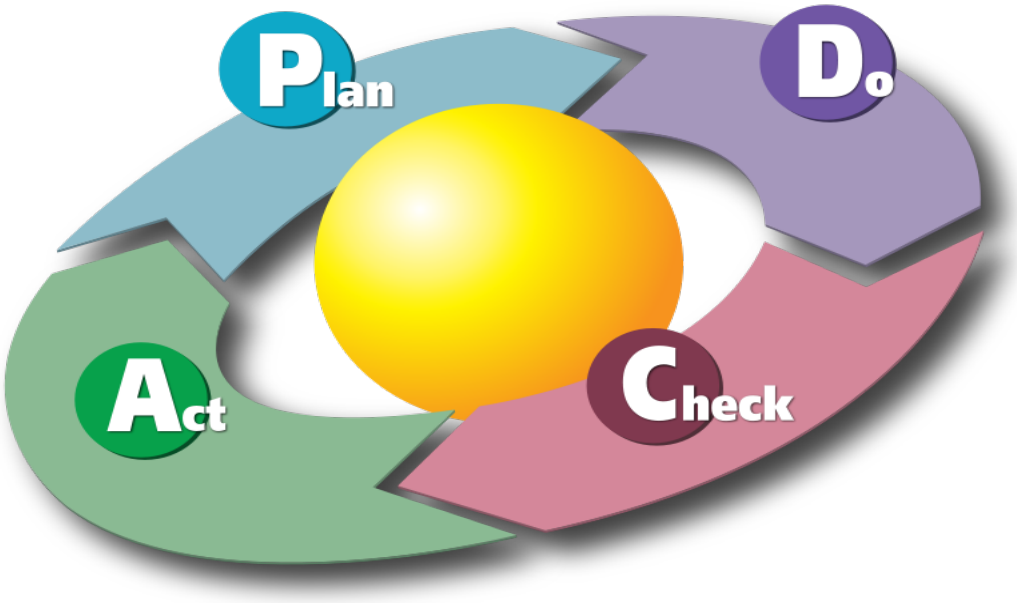
Elements of governance

> A governance cycle - efforts have been made to achieve this, often worthy ones …, but the questions of funding and local authority control mean that a governance cycle cannot operate effectively.
>
> (M0044).

Authority and school-based leaders of Scottish education have for many years been enjoined, largely by HMIe (e.g. HMIe, 2007c), to improve teaching, learning and attainment (and, at times, achievement) by adopting a cyclical approach to envisioning, planning, implementing, evaluating and amending

their plans in the light of experience. This approach has been adopted in programmes to launch authority and school improvement planning in the late 1990s and early 2000s, in the Journey to Excellence programme of the 2000s and in specific initiatives on leadership in education.

Figure 5.1 The Plan – Do – Check – Act (PDCA) Cycle or Deming Cycle

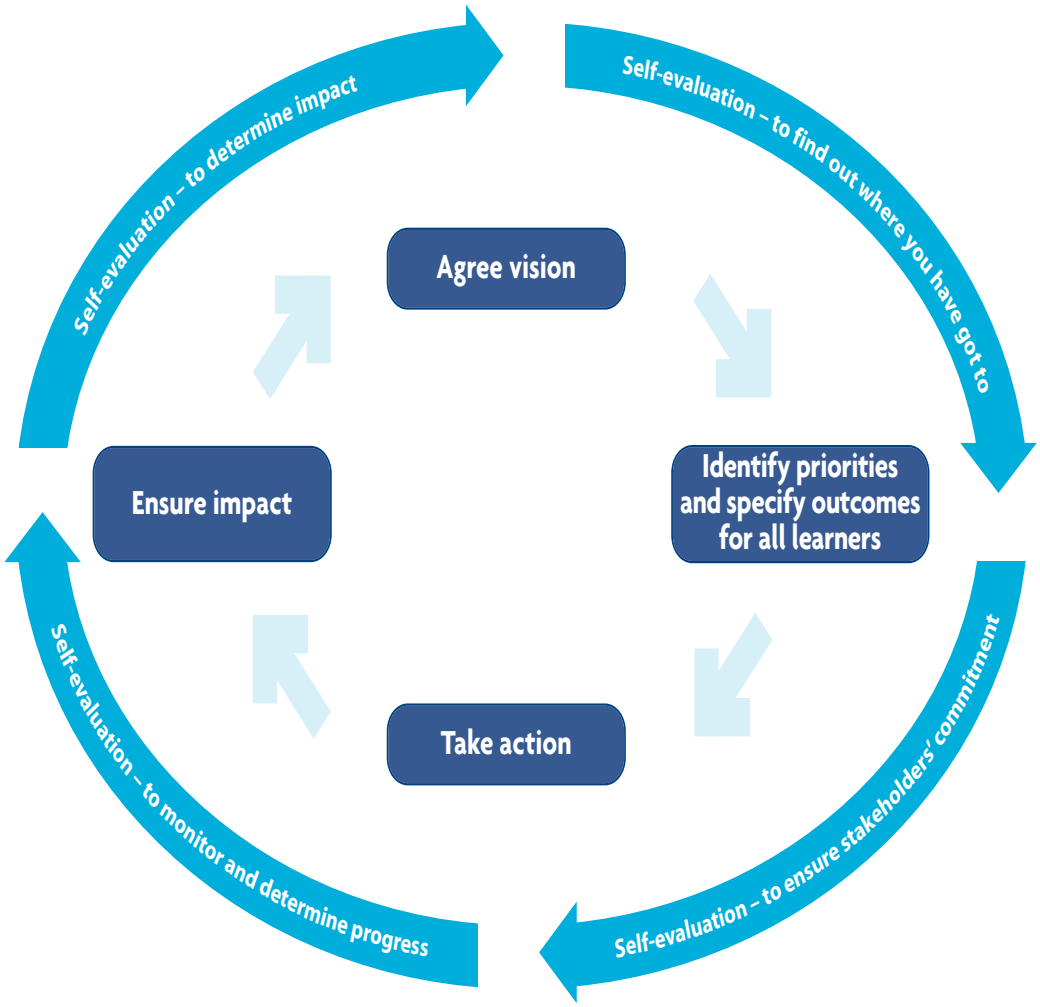


[Image from Wikipedia Commons: File: PDCA Cycle.svg]

This national/HMIe approach draws on the PDCA, or Deming, Cycle (Figure 5.1) (developed by Dr W. Edwards Deming, although itself based on the 'scientific method': hypothesis – experiment – evaluate, first codified by Francis Bacon (1620)). The PDCA cycle is widely used in the corporate world for the control and continuous improvement of processes and products, Like many other bodies, HMIe and SED adopted the concept of a continuous

improvement cycle from the PDCA cycle for their own purposes, as exemplified in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 HMIe: Planning for Excellence



From 'How Good Is Our School? The Journey to Excellence, Part 4: Planning for Excellence' (HMIe, 2007c)

Given the weakened state of MFL uptake and attainment and the successive development waves, whether pan-curricular but impacting significantly on MFL or purely MFL, across 50 years (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3), it is important to establish whether the PDCA Cycle or the nationally-recommended Plan – Implement – Evaluate – Amend approach have been enacted in the context of some or all MFL initiatives by schools, authorities and/or the First and Second Triumvirates.

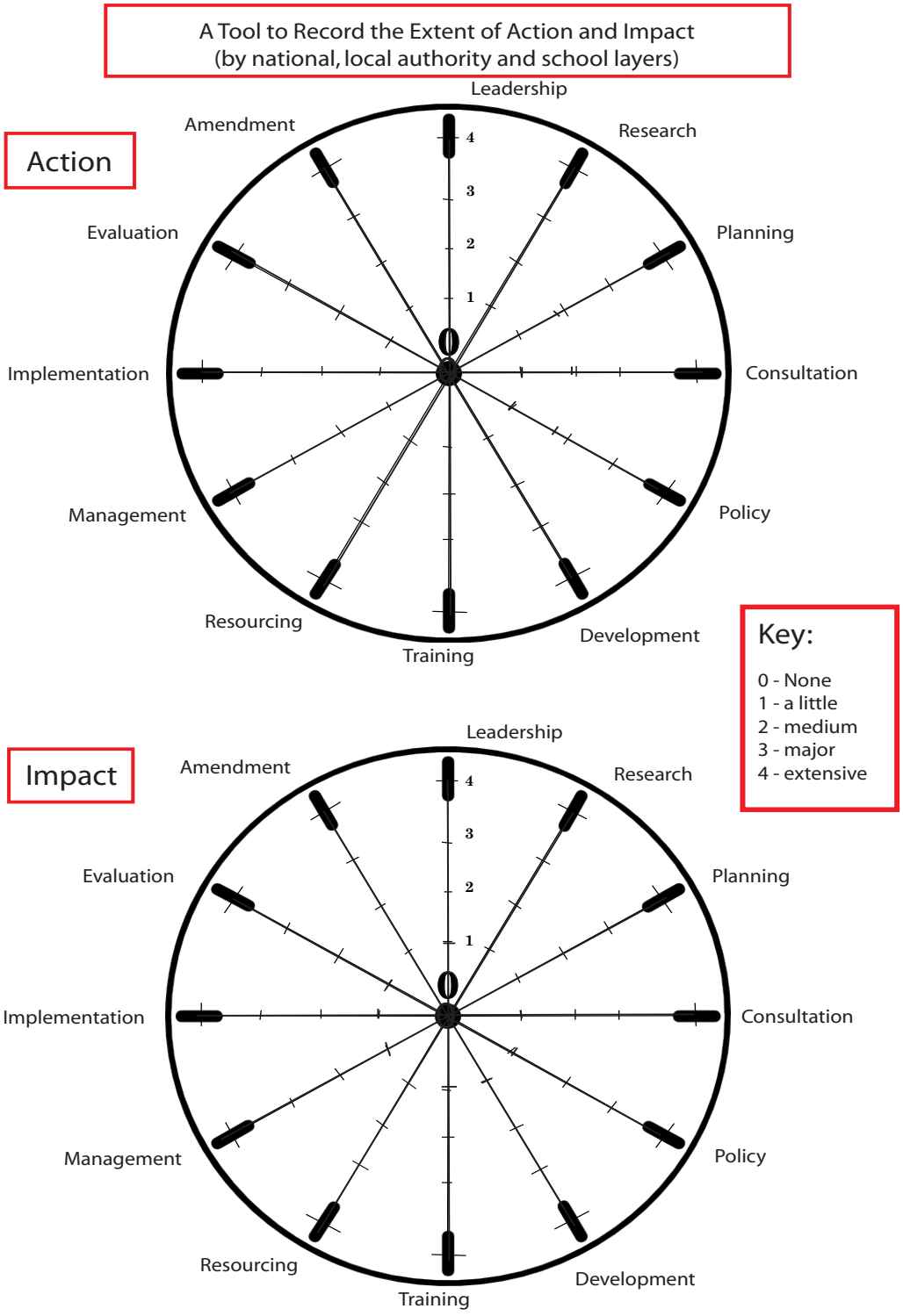
Trial respondents made clear that they believed there were more than four steps in an educational governance cycle, so I also consulted with a group of five (non-respondent) colleagues in educational leadership positions across layers to identify the elements of educational leadership at national, authority and school level. All five identified roughly similar governance actions for each level. These were combined into one master list of 12 key elements of governance and, after a chance discussion with an academic colleague (see Acknowledgements), I moved from using 12 separate Likert scales to capture the information to developing a circular tool embodying the cyclical nature of educational governance of development and improvement. The twelve governance elements identified are: Leadership (and Vision), Research, Planning, Consultation, Policy (Generation), Development, Training, Resourcing, Management, Implementation, Evaluation, Amendment (thus restarting the cycle). Consultation with those originally asked showed that this generally met their specification for a governance cycle. Points were made about Leadership and Management taking place throughout the cycle, but it

was agreed that they needed to be represented somewhere and that these were appropriate points in the cycle. The tool developed has two wheels – one to measure the extent of action and effort by governance agents and one to measure the extent of impact - as these were potentially different.

I faced one other compromise due to the sub-layers of governance in all three layers. Early testing showed that this was the most challenging instrument for at least some respondents to complete, with significant detail to record. Trial respondents made clear that they would not complete 7 or 8 sets of wheels to cover multiple sub-layers but indicated that they felt able to complete one set of wheels for each of the three main layers, amalgamating the two triumvirates into a national layer and councillors, directorates and advisers/QIOs into another. The school sub-layers seemed not to cause such concerns, particularly for headteachers. A few respondents declined to comment on their own layer or on another layer, mostly indicating that they could not give a single score for the multiple sub-layers.

The tool is shown in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 The Governance Wheel: A New Tool



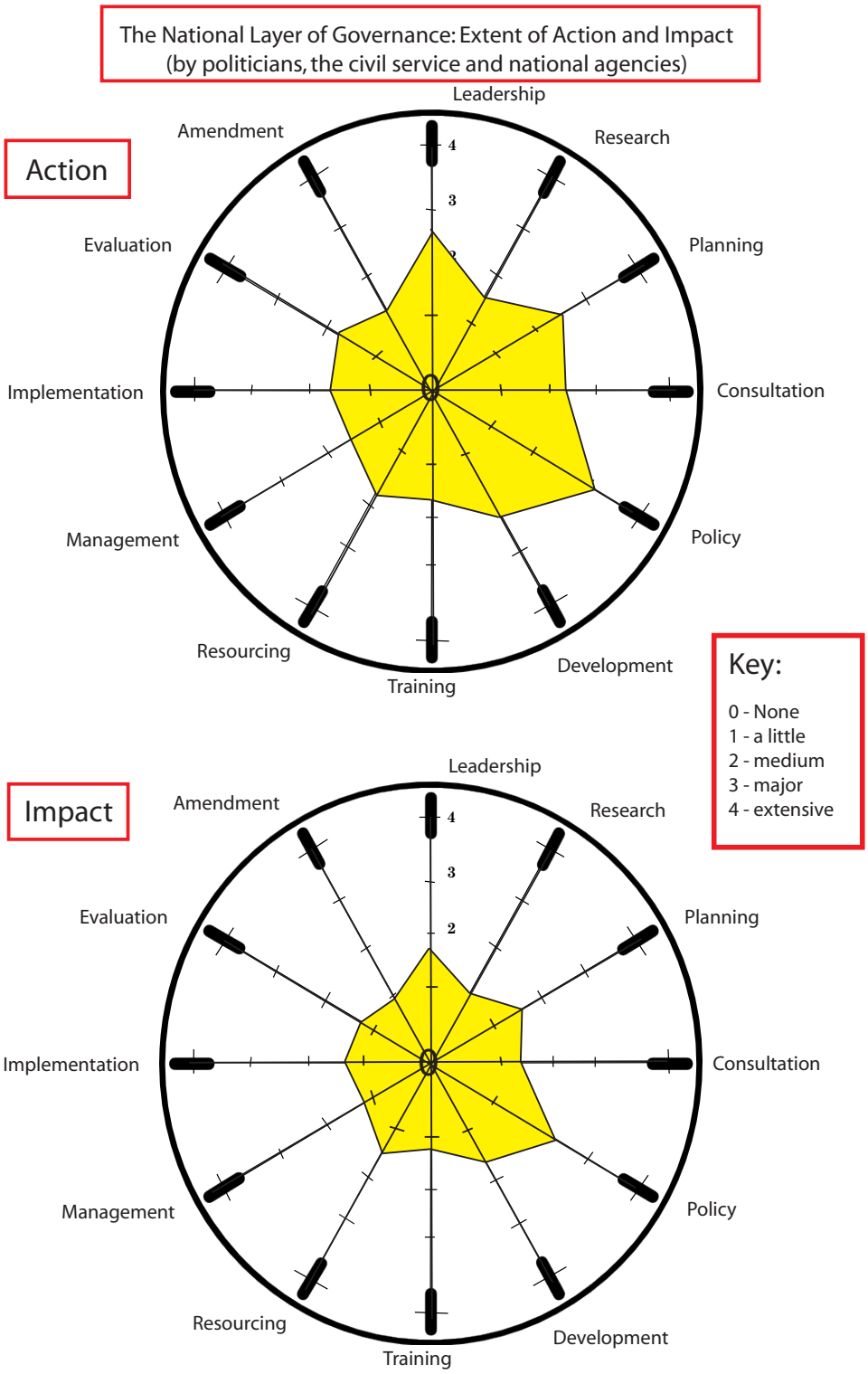
'Governance wheels'

A bi-cycle with busted spokes …

(M0021)

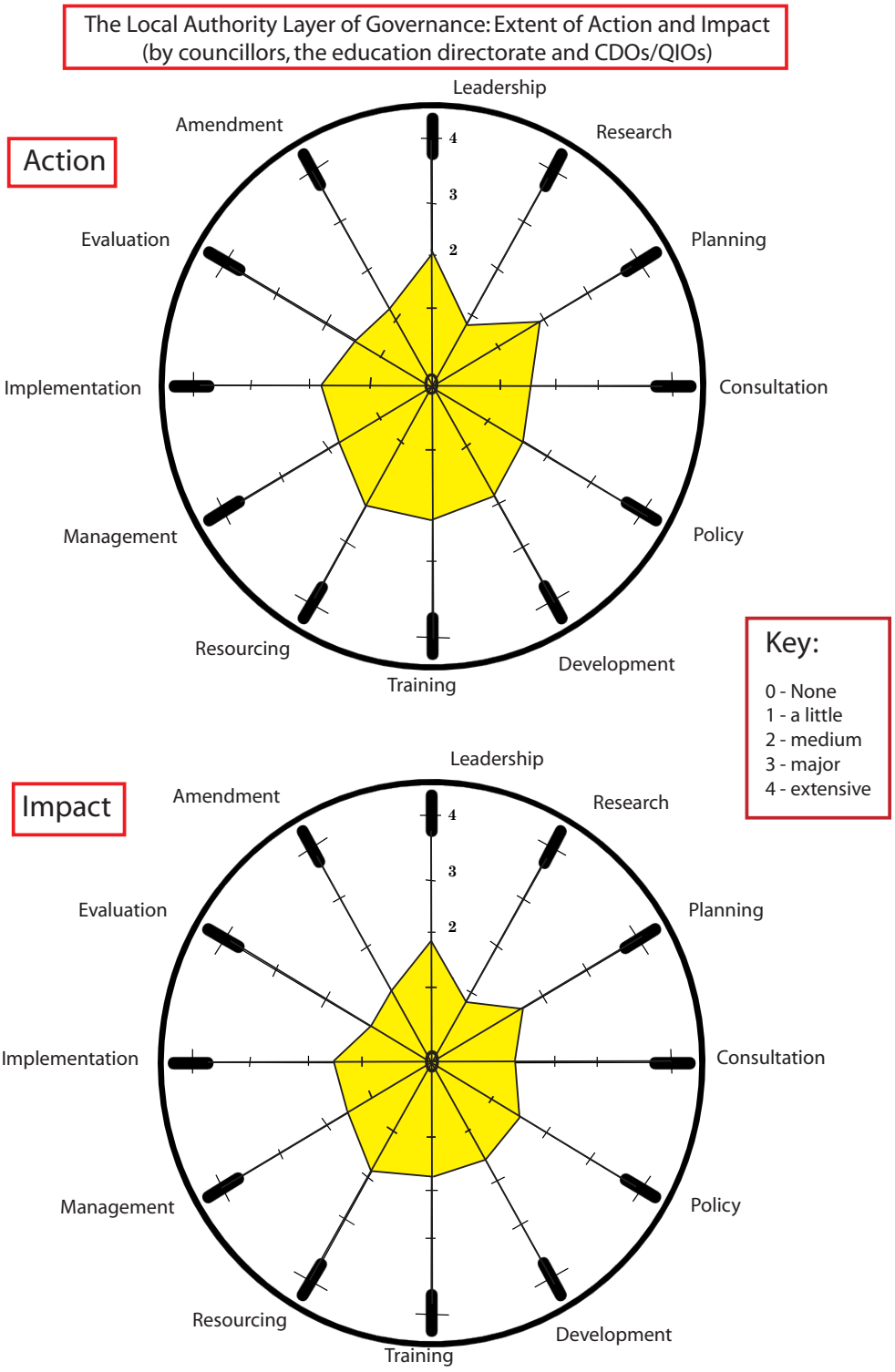
The results from this tool were hardest to obtain: significant effort went into explaining the concepts (and the importance) to respondents and into liaising with respondents who had not initially completed some or all of the wheels to increase completion rates. The layout of action and impact wheels was originally horizontal, leading to the epigraph by respondent M0021 who felt, as did a significant majority of respondents, that there were irregularities in aspects of action and impact beyond that which might be expected. Respondents saw the three levels – national, local authority and school – as differing significantly in both the extent and 'shape' of their action and impact. Extent was measured on a scale from 0 (no action/impact) to 4 (extensive action/impact) and respondents were able to identify the extent on a continuous scale (rather than a digital Likert scale). If they believed the extent of local authority action on training to lie approximately half way between 'medium' and 'major' they could record this as 2.5. Respondents were asked to restrict themselves to one decimal place as it would be difficult to give an accurate meaning to an answer with multiple decimal points. The results obtained are shown in Figures 5.4 to 5.6 and individual respondents' ratings are shown in Appendix 11.

Figure 5.4 Governance Action and Impact in the National Layer



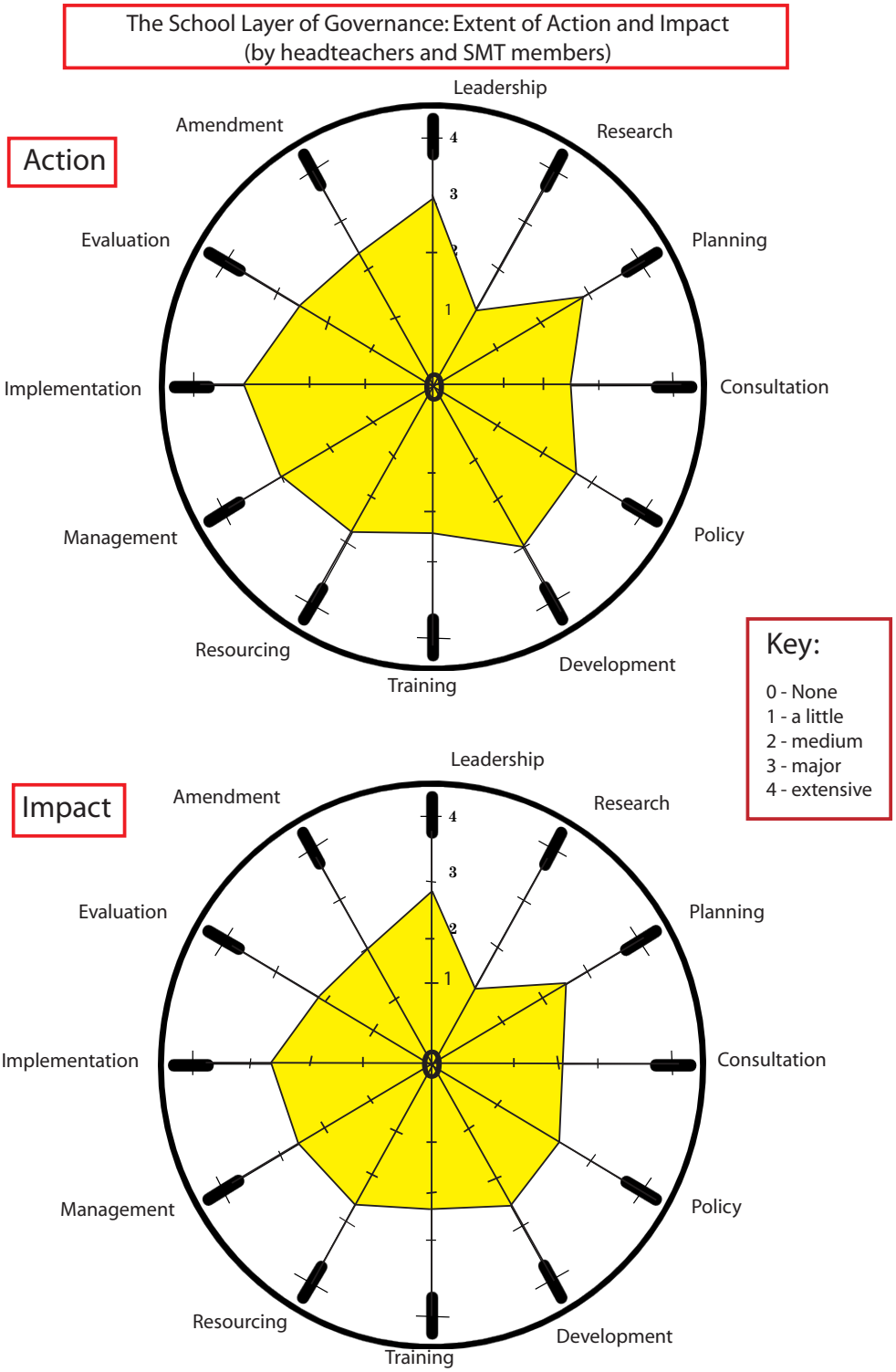
In Figure 5.4, the shapes of the governance wheels for Action and Impact for national governance actors are consistent although the extent of Impact is significantly less than the extent of Action. Several characteristics are apparent. National governance agency in MFL development is perceived by respondents to be at its most effective in the generation of Policy where the extent of action is considered to be 'major', although the extent of impact is only 'medium'. Leadership, Planning, Consultation and Development are all considered to be 'medium' in terms of action although, worryingly, the extent of impact of these is only slightly above 'a little'. The perceptions that Research, Evaluation and Implementation are all rated as somewhere between 'a little' and 'medium' in terms of action and only as 'a little' (or less in the case of research) in terms of impact are a significant concern. However, the most significant issue is the Amendment element which measures the extent to which national governance actors act on the outcomes of implementation and evaluation, either to amend further iterations of the same initiative or use this information to inform and improve the next initiative. For this, national governance agents are rated as just above 'a little' for action and exactly so for impact. A notable minority (20/49 = 41%), mainly local authority/school respondents, rated the impact aspect of this element as 0 but non-inspectorate First Triumvirate members rated this around 3. In interviews with Second Triumvirate actors, almost all rated this as 0-1, adding that several initiatives were effectively abandoned because the political agenda had moved on.

Figure 5.5: Governance Action and Impact in the Local Authority Layer



For local authorities, Figure 5.5 shows the shapes of the governance wheels for Action and Impact to be consistent and again the extent of impact is less than the (already limited) extent of action. Whereas national agency was seen by respondents as most effective in Policy and Planning, local authorities are considered strongest in Resourcing with Training, Management, Development, Implementation and Leadership quite close to these. These five elements were rated as 'medium' for action, although only Resourcing and Training approach 'medium' for impact. Of the other factors, Planning and Policy are not seen as strong, supporting respondents' and interviewees' views (see Section 5.1: Local Authorities and Directors) that local authorities have largely failed to focus on MFL policy since CoaMW. Weaker yet are Research, Consultation, Evaluation and Amendment, particularly in terms of Impact, where respondents see authorities as somewhere between 'none' and 'a little'. This last view was particularly evident in headteachers and deputes, but also from some local authority MFL officers and national actors. A notable minority (19/46 = 41%), mainly national/school respondents, rated the impact aspect of Amendment as 0, implying that two-fifths of all respondents believed that local authorities make no significant attempt to improve an initiative once launched. There are obvious parallels between national and authority governance with respect to their apparent lack of action (and subsequent impact thereof) at the beginning and end of the governance cycle (Leadership and Research -> Evaluation and Amendment), despite the repeated efforts of HMIe.

Figure 5.6: Governance Action and Impact in the School Layer



In Figure 5.6, the Action and Impact wheels for school governance actors are again consistent in shape. Here, although the extent of impact is perceived to be slightly less than the extent of Action, the scale in both cases is much larger than for the other two governance layers with the Leadership, Planning, Development, Management and Implementation elements of Action approaching 'major' and almost all of the Impact elements around 'medium'. Although there are more school-based respondents than authority or national respondents, national actors and some authority actors show agreement with their school colleagues, particularly with respect to Action, and therefore these views permeate all layers of governance (see Appendices 14, 15; Tables 5.5, 5.6)

However, other characteristics are also apparent. School-based agency is seen by respondents as slightly less strong in Consultation and Training, less strong in Evaluation and Amendment and, as with national and local authority agents, weak in Research. The first four elements named here are less strong in comparison to other school elements but are still (often significantly) stronger than their national or authority equivalents. The finding on weakness in Research completes a set across all governance layers, validating the literature review in this respect and inevitably raising the question of the basis on which MFL (and some wider) initiatives have been planned and developed.

Table 5.5 provides a picture of the overall extent of governance action and impact by national, authority and school 'Governance Actors'.

Table 5.5: Mean Governance Scores

The Mean Value used for this measure is obtained by taking the arithmetic average of the scores for each of the 12 aspects of MFL Governance from the Governance Wheels for each layer of governance.

	Mean Rating of Extent of Action/Impact using:			
Governance Layer	All actors' Views	National Actors' Views	Authority Actors' Views	School Actors' Views
National - Action	1.9	2.7	1.9	1.8
National - Impact	1.5	2.0	1.3	1.2
Local Auth. - Action	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.5
Local Auth. - Impact	1.5	2.0	1.6	1.2
School - Action	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.8
School - Impact	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.5

KEY:

0 = No action/impact.	(0.00 – 0.99:)
1 = Little action/impact.	(1.00 – 1.99:)
2 = Medium action/impact.	(2.00 – 2.99:)
3 = Major action/impact.	(3.00 – 3.99:)
4 = Extensive action/impact.	(4.00:)

Scores between integer points reflect a continuity of Action or impact. For example, a mean score of 2.7 for action might be described as "significant, relatively major" action, whereas a score of 1.1 for impact would still be regarded as "relatively little action/impact".

Several significant inferences are apparent. The 'All Actors' column confirms the overall findings of the individual Governance Wheels, with school-based actors seen as the strongest in terms of action and impact. When examining the responses from different governance levels, however, the picture changes. National and school actors see themselves as strongest in Action but all three layers see schools as having the greatest Impact. It may be that *amour propre* plays a part in the action ratings but may also reflect the fact that respondents simply understand the job(s) carried out in their own layer best.

National actors see schools making more impact on MFLs than they do themselves and see local authorities as weakest in action and impact. Local authorities see their own actions as weakest. They see (some) schools as having most impact and national actors as having least. School ratings of national and council actors are significantly lower, although schools share the national perception that local authorities are the weakest in Action but see both others as equal weakest in Impact.

Self and Mutual Perceptions

The findings of Tables 5.2 to 5.5 and Figures 5.4 to 5.6 provide considerable insight into how the three governance layers see themselves and each other, both in terms of influence, capacity to support, control, extent of action, extent of impact and also holistically. Interviews explored these areas further and demonstrated that a significant majority of interviewees saw their own area of

responsibility as the most important for MFL governance. However, those who did not adopt this position almost unanimously suggested that the government/education minister and the headteacher were most significant in governing MFLs, with MFL teachers also able to exercise considerable agency. National/school actors who voted for themselves generally saw the other category as next most important. Local authorities were less valued by national and school respondents but also by some authority staff, with Languages officers being particularly negative about post-1996 authorities. Appendices 12 to 15 record the raw data from which these findings are drawn.

Influence

National and school actors were consistent in seeing the Scottish Government (particularly the education minister) and headteachers as the most influential figures in the governance of MFL, although each group saw itself as most influential. Thereafter, they differed with national actors seeing the civil service as next most influential, whereas school-based actors selected Faculty Heads. Directors of Education came fifth equal in the national list but only ninth equal in the school list and heads of education came eleventh equal and thirteenth equal respectively. Only one head of education was mentioned as playing a significant MFL governance role by any school or national respondent.

Local authority officers and councillors differed noticeably from this pattern, seeing headteachers as most influential with MFL teachers next and then

directors of education, the Scottish government and, in equal fourth place, the minister, HMSCI, heads of education and school depute headteachers.

Capacity to Support MFLs

In this analysis, respondents were given a much smaller field (10 categories) of actors from whom to choose. It might therefore be expected that there would be greater similarity in the views of the three layers of actors. This proved to be reasonably true, as all three layers saw headteachers and MFL teachers as most able to support MFLs and Directors as the fourth most important. The pattern varied thereafter with council and school staff seeing the Scottish Government as third most important and national respondents seeing parents in this role.

Control

Using the same 10 categories as Support, all three levels of actors agreed the top four but not the order, although the commonest pattern was: headteacher, Scottish government, director of education and MFL teachers. National actors saw the Scottish government as most important, with headteachers secpnd.

Extent of Governance Action

Table 5.6 shows the mean ratings given by national, local authority and school actors to themselves and to each other for the extent of action in each of the twelve elements of governance.

Table 5.6: Governance Action – Self and Mutual Perceptions

Perceptions of Extent of Action	National Actors' View of			Local Auth. Actors' View of			School Actors' View of		
	Nat	LA	Sch	Nat	LA	Sch	Nat	LA	Sch
Leadership	2.9	2.3	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.3	1.8	3.2
Research	1.3	0.6	0.8	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.8	0.9	1.4
Planning	2.8	1.9	2.4	2.1	1.9	2.5	2.2	1.5	3.1
Consultation	2.8	1.8	2.1	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.3	1.2	2.8
Policy	3.6	1.6	2.1	3.0	1.6	2.3	2.8	1.6	2.8
Development	2.8	1.8	2.3	2.1	1.8	2.6	1.8	1.8	3.2
Training	2.0	2.4	1.9	1.7	2.4	1.9	1.3	1.8	2.7
Resourcing	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.5	1.4	2.0	3.1
Management	2.4	2.0	2.6	1.3	2.0	2.5	1.4	1.5	3.1
Implementation	2.4	2.1	2.7	1.5	2.1	2.7	1.4	1.5	3.2
Evaluation	2.3	1.7	2.3	2.0	1.7	2.0	1.4	1.2	2.8
Amendment	1.7	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.8	1.1	1.0	2.8

KEY:

0 = No action/impact.	(0.00 – 0.99:)
1 = Little action/impact.	(1.00 – 1.99:)
2 = Medium action/impact.	(2.00 – 2.99:)
3 = Major action/impact.	(3.00 – 3.99:)
4 = Extensive action/impact.	(4.00:)

The overall views of each governance layer with respect to their own and others' were shown in Table 5.5. Table 5.6 demonstrates respondents' views of the specific elements of governance action.

National actors see themselves as strongest in 6 out of 12 elements and also see school actors as taking more action than local authorities in 10 categories. Significantly, local authority actors only see themselves as strongest in 1 category and see school actors as stronger than national actors in 8/12 categories. School actors see themselves as strongest in 10 categories and see national actors as taking more action than authority actors in 6/12

categories. There is unanimity here: national and school actors each see themselves as strongest with the other second strongest. All three agree that local authorities take least action on MFLs. Based on the views of the other respondents, both national and school governance actors somewhat overrate themselves.

Specific elements stand out: for example, both Research and Amendment appear consistently weak, although school and national actors see themselves as stronger than authorities. This view, however, is not supported by the evidence uncovered by my literature review and it is tempting to wonder whether some respondents are confusing Research with Evaluation (as HMIe have significant strengths in the latter). School actors see themselves as strong in Amendment although HMIe reports do not substantiate this across all schools. As Chapter 6 demonstrate, these weaknesses in Research and Amendment fit well with the discontinuities and mutual cancelling-out apparent in several sets of initiatives relevant to MFL development. Leadership is rated more highly than the evidence of Sections 6.2 – 6.4 would support.

Local authorities are seen as weakest in terms of action, graded as taking little or no action in 18 of 24 elements graded by the other sets of respondents. This compares with 17/24 for national actors as seen by the others and 13/24 for schools. Local authorities receive 3 ‘no actions’ (1 from each) as opposed to 2 for schools and 0 for national actors.

Appendix 11 contains the full set of data on governance action. Using this data, it is possible to analyse the award of a '4' for 'extensive action', a process which also reveals respondents' self and mutual views. National layer respondents awarded 45 of 432 (10.4%) 4s, 29 (6.7%) to themselves, 4 (0.9%) to local authorities and 12 (2.8%) to schools. Local authority respondents awarded 43 of 540 (8.0%) grades as 4s: 15 (2.8%) to national governance actors, 6 (1.1%) to themselves and 22 (4.1%) to school governance actors. School layer respondents awarded 88 of 792 (11.0%) grades as 4s, 13 (1.6%) to national governance actors, 9 (1.1%) to local authority actors and 66 (8.3%) to themselves. It is worth noting that almost half of the '4s" awarded by national actors to themselves came from the minority of such respondents drawn from the political and civil service layers. Again, self and mutual perceptions confirm schools and national actors as fairly equally strong and local authorities as weaker.

Extent of Governance Impact

Table 5.7 shows the mean ratings given by the three sets of respondents to themselves and to each other for the extent of impact achieved.

Table 5.7: Governance Impact – Self and Mutual Perceptions

Perceptions of Extent of Impact	National Actors' View of			Local Auth. Actors' View of			School Actors' View of		
	Nat	LA	Sch	Nat	LA	Sch	Nat	LA	Sch
Leadership	2.1	2.0	2.8	1.6	2.1	2.4	1.4	1.4	2.9
Research	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.8	1.4
Planning	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.1	2.3	1.5	1.0	2.7
Consultation	1.7	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.1	0.9	2.4
Policy	2.8	1.8	2.1	2.2	1.3	1.8	2.0	1.4	2.5
Development	2.1	1.8	2.4	1.6	1.6	2.1	1.4	1.5	2.8
Training	1.3	2.1	2.3	1.4	1.9	2.0	1.2	1.5	2.5
Resourcing	2.1	2.0	2.5	1.5	2.1	2.3	1.2	1.6	2.8
Management	1.9	1.9	2.7	0.8	1.7	2.1	1.0	1.2	2.8
Implementation	1.9	1.9	2.4	1.1	1.6	2.1	1.1	1.2	2.8
Evaluation	1.7	1.4	2.0	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.0	0.8	2.4
Amendment	1.3	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.4	1.5	1.0	0.8	2.4

KEY:

0 = No action/impact. (0.00 – 0.99:)

1 = Little action/impact. (1.00 – 1.99:)

2 = Medium action/impact. (2.00 – 2.99:)

3 = Major action/impact. (3.00 – 3.99:)

4 = Extensive action/impact. (4.00:)

Here, the impact of governance may be observed. National actors only see themselves as having the greatest impact in 2 out of 12 categories. They also see school actors as having more impact than local authorities in all 12 categories. Council actors only see themselves as strongest in 1 element and see school actors as having more impact than national actors in 10/12 categories. School actors see themselves as having the strongest impact in all 12 categories and see national and authority actors as equally weak.

Again, specific elements stand out. There is universal agreement that the impact of Research has been poor and agreement that schools have been most effective (but limited) in Amendment. Surprisingly, this is also true of Evaluation, despite the existence of HMIe. National and school actors see local authorities as having little or no impact in 19/24 elements graded by them. However, this compares with 22/24 for national actors as seen by the others but only 8/24 for schools. Local authorities receive 5 'no impacts' (4 from schools) as opposed to 3 for national actors (all from EAs) and 2 for schools. No 'major impacts' were awarded by any group. In summary, this measure of governance appears to suggest schools make most impact but that national and local authority actors are seen by all as failing to achieve any significant impact.

Appendix 12 contains the complete set of respondent data on governance impact. The level of '4' awards is much lower here. National layer respondents awarded 25 4s from a total of 432 (5.8%) grades, 11 (2.5%) to themselves, 2 (0.5%) to local authorities and 12 (2.8%) to schools. Local authority respondents awarded 28 of 540 (5.2%) grades as 4s: 2 (0.4%) to national actors, 8 (1.5%) to themselves and 18 (3.3%) to schools. School layer respondents awarded 60 of 792 (7.6%) grades as 4s, 4 (0.5%) to national governance actors, 5 (0.6%) to local authority actors and 51 (6.4%) to themselves. Again, approximately half of the '4s' awarded by national actors to themselves came from the respondents from the political and civil service layers. Local authority respondents see fewer instances of extensive impact

across all governance layers. There is a split in their responses, however, with directorate members awarding very few '4s' to schools whereas officers saw this differently. Unlike the other layers, school actors retain a relatively high self-belief here (although well down from the Action grade, and based on the strong self-beliefs of 4 respondents, as opposed to the more widely-based views in the Action section) but see neither national actors or local authorities as making any extensive impact.

5.2.3 Cyclical Governance?

> Educational governance is an amalgam of overlapping self-interests.
>
> (M0021)

This section began with the Deming/PDCA cycle and HMI's recommendation to local authority and school governance actors to practice cyclical improvement planning. Do these findings demonstrate that this been implemented in some or all of the three governance layers with respect to MFL developments? The basic answer is 'no' and this is particularly evident in the poor national and council scores for Leadership and Research and for Evaluation and Amendment. The national score for Evaluation is a surprise as HMI/HMIe's reports on MFLs have been consistently accurate and insightful. It is possible that the previously reported 2000 issues which resulted in HMIe's removal from the centre of power still linger across

governance layers, but it may also be that some agency respondents' views that HMIe reports are acted on (or not) by lower grade civil servants than in the past means that there is less awareness of their work.

Undoubtedly, there have been signs of cyclical processes in some layers at some times: school development planning and evaluation based on 'How Good is Our School' is certainly an instance although it is clear (from reading a broad sample of inspection reports) that this is a strength across many, but not all, schools. However, even this partial strength fits well with the higher grades awarded to schools with respect to both the 'vision' and 'revision' ends of the governance cycle (Research excepted). It is interesting to consider that schools, regardless of whether they enjoy the experience, can be seen to have benefitted from the rigour of HMI inspections in the quality of their governance processes whereas councils, no longer subject to INEA (Inspection of Education Authorities), and the two triumvirates, not generally subject to such public processes (irrespective of whatever may be considered in private), may both be clearly seen not to have had their governance processes sharpened by the benefit of a 'free MOT' from HMIe.

Respondents' comments (perhaps more strident here than in other contexts) tend to substantiate the lack of cohesion and cyclical improvement in the agency of governance layers and actors:

> No, it hasn't been cyclical. I would describe it as sporadic and opportunistic. However, although it is not cyclical, there are things that recur, such as primary language programmes.
>
> (M0016).

> To date it has clearly not been governed as a cycle but rather with different people responsible for different elements and often not working together. The holistic view has not been taken.
>
> (M0021).

> Much governance is incoherent, transient and based on a lack of expertise.
>
> (M0050).

> Some initiatives are overtaken by changing ministerial policy and not revisited.
>
> (M0063, national actor)

Some key concepts are evident from the governance tables and wheels and also from respondents' comments, including: the lack of a holistic view of MFL developments; unlinked initiatives; differing responsibilities not coordinated by a central team; transience of some initiatives and many ministers; turnover and (surprisingly) lack of continuity within the civil service; the growing power and diminishing accountability of headteachers; increasing centralisation of decision-making by ministers and government and, lastly, a lack of expertise (deriving from a lack of research, the reduction in HMI Language specialists and the disappearance and dispersal of key agency and local authority personnel) with which to govern MFL improvements. All appear to contribute to the 'wicked problem' (Renton, 2009) of MFL governance.

SUMMARY

Agency View 1: Influence, Control and Support:

- Headteachers, the Scottish government and the education minister were considered by respondents from all layers to have most influence but national respondents also included civil servants in this.
- Headteachers, MFL teachers, the Scottish government and directors of education were considered to have most ability to support MFLs.
- Headteachers, the Scottish government, directors of education and MFL teachers were considered to have greatest control over MFL teaching and learning.

Agency View 2: Action and Impact:

- A governance cycle based on the PDCA/HMIe cycles forms a useful basis for the governance of educational policies and developments.
- National governance of MFLs shows strength in planning and policy generation, but limited impact, and no impact in other areas.
- Local authority governance of MFLs shows limited strength in leadership, planning, training and resourcing, and limited impact, and no impact in other areas.
- School-based governance of MFLs shows strength in most areas except Research and medium impact in these areas.
- Conflicting, contested and flawed neo-liberal centralisation and consumer control initiatives from mid 1980s to late 1990s

Issues included:

- The agency of individuals modifies, and possibly inhibits, hierarchical governance.
- Control of governance and ability to use governance for improvement may be in inverse proportion
- With the exception of schools and headteachers (who were seen as exercising medium to strong agency by all respondents), all respondents saw their own layer as effective but were perceived as weak in action and impact by all others.

5.3 The Effects of Agency

5.3.1 On Structure: 'Agency Trumps Structure - Every Time'?

It was surprising to find a large minority of respondents (e.g. M0021, M0022, M0026, M0030) from national agencies offering comments (usually without prompting) on ways in which some agency personnel have at times attempted to maintain an 'advantage' with respect to other national agencies by means including withholding information, briefing politicians or civil servants and/or 'managing' meetings to ensure an outcome beneficial to their organisation. Some local authority personnel (e.g. M0003, M0004) and headteachers (e.g. M0031, M0049, M0050) provided parallel accounts within their layers of governance, although not to the same extent. A few headteachers (4) also spoke of concerns about similar activities by their peers (in authority meetings), by principal teachers or by senior management team members.

These findings derived from a purposive sample of 40 interviewees and so may not be representative of Scottish education, but the relative unanimity of accounts is of interest. However, their majority view - that structures are maintained or modified through interactions and that actors seek to preserve/enhance their own and their organisation's place in the structure - is substantiated by Bevir and Rhodes' wider view of governance (2003, 2006), by Kogan's early research into governance and policy-making (1975, 1978)

and by MacPherson and Raab's (1988) very specific accounts of how governance actors and organisations jostled for position and influence. It also supports a less intense form of Humes' (1988) views. From a relatively small sample, it appears that time may not have altered this aspect of inter-agency working. Whether agency trumps structure every time, as several respondents claimed, is further illuminated in Section 6.3 and evaluated in Chapter 7.

5.3.2 On Common Cause?

Examination of the available evidence has not identified a consistent, long-term focus, a sustained unanimity of purpose, or consistent action towards the improvement of MFLs - either within or across governance levels - despite intermittent press campaigns and 'bursts of enthusiasm for curricular initiatives' (M0016) by several ministers. This view is sustained by the optional, and varying, curricular status of MFLs (see Table 6.1), by the failure (and subsequent failures to try to remedy this) of several high profile MFL initiatives (see Section 6.3 and Tables 6.2, 6.3), by the varying attitudes and approaches to MFLs of schools, headteachers and MFL Principal Teachers (see this subsection and Section 5.4) and by the unresolved long-term decline in MFL uptake and attainment (see Figures 2.1, 2.2, 6.1 and 6.2).

A range of issues across governance layers emerges from the views of respondents. Roughly half of all school and authority respondents (including a majority of headteachers) spoke of concerns about the negative attitude, elitism and/or low ability of at least some MFL teachers and Principal Teachers. Equally, half of all respondents (but few headteachers) feel that not all headteachers have espoused MFLs (and that some are overtly/covertly hostile to MFLs or see MFLs as a threat to attainment), particularly since 2001. Almost all school respondents and a large minority of authority respondents indicate that local authorities did not pursue MFLs post-1996 and particularly in the decade between the failure of CoaMW and the '1+2' initiative. Among these respondents there are views that the national funding for CoaMW (almost £20 million according to internal Scottish Executive documentation provided by respondents (Scottish Executive, 2005 – n.p.)) has been 'wasted' – a word used only by a minority of actors, but from all three layers - by authorities on (differentially) 'ineffective' (e.g. M0026) primary MLPS training and that only around £500,000 (Scottish Executive, 2005 – n.p.) was allocated across a few secondary schools. Almost no school respondents believe that the civil service has consistently promoted MFLs. Their MFL specialist HMI colleagues are consistently seen in a positive light but are believed by a majority of school and authority respondents to have lost influence in recent years. Successive ministers are seen by a majority of respondents as pursuing personal 'legacy' projects, rather than pursuing a common drive for improvement with consistent curricular, attainment and

achievement foci. They are also perceived by some (e.g. M0001, M0016, M0020, M0021, M0043, M0081) to react to media pressure without necessarily thinking through the implications of initiatives. SQA is seen by a small majority of school respondents as increasingly commercially-motivated, leading to difficulties in sustaining small-uptake subjects and in establishing new subjects – 'unless a commercial case can be made' (M0022: national agency).

Unlike the findings in the previous two chapters, these views are not strongly corroborated by other research, as there is almost no other such research, although some corroboration comes from both the 1990 HMI report and (particularly the foreword of) the 1998 HMI report on MFLs. In the 1998 foreword, Douglas Osler, then HMSCI, wrote that: 'while there is some good learning and teaching in modern languages, the situation overall is far from satisfactory despite the extensive effort which has been put into transforming the teaching of modern languages' (HMI, 1998, p.3). He also suggests that 'significant improvements are needed in standards and quality in modern languages' (1998, p.3) and indicates that the problem pervades both primary – 'the potential benefits to pupils arising from the study of a modern language in primary schools are not yet being fully realised' – and secondary – 'there was evidence in S1/S2 and S3/S4 of a marked decline in the quality of courses during the period on which this report is based' (1998, p.3), also noting that 'in secondary schools 25% of courses showed important weaknesses or were

unsatisfactory'. His final paragraph (1998, p.4) indicated that all elements of the First Triumvirate, most of the Second Triumvirate, local authorities, schools and their staff *all* needed to improve. An examination of almost all reports from the two HMIe series within which the 1990 and 1998 MFL reports were produced, shows no parallel situation across other subjects and HMSCI Osler's words are particularly blunt (presumably intentionally so, given that HMSCIs display a Civil Service extent of caution and understatement) and were aimed equally at department, school, authority and national leaders. The introductory remarks are accompanied by equally straightforward descriptions of identified primary and secondary weaknesses and the steps required for improvement. Given the failure of the initiative (CoaMW) established in response to these criticisms and the long gap to the '1+2' initiative, it is perhaps unsurprising that respondents have reported these same failings 16 years after the 1998 report.

5.3.3 On Interactions: Cooperation, Compliance, Contention and/or Subversion

The nature and impact of interactions and linkages among MFL governance layers and individuals proved to be a focus for many respondents. A major theme was the complexity of interaction between layers and the potential for unintended consequences:

> It's complex! There is an interaction at national level, which is then transmitted to local level. What may have been decided at national level, may be judged impractical at local level, leading to the implementation of innovation in a slightly different form from that which was intended.
>
> (M0036, headteacher)

Intra-layer rivalries have been considered earlier in this chapter. The national layer is the most common source for reports of such activities with respondents commenting on First-Second Triumvirate rivalries and also on inter-agency contention.

> Contention among governance groups and governance actors bedevils the system. Although almost all appear to be well-intentioned, they do things to enhance their own position … for example, they withhold data from other groups and, at times, vie for ascendancy.
>
> (M0021).

Only a few local authority officers reported such events, either in the context of the declining ability of MFL officers to persuade directors to support MFLs or, in one case, their own inability to resist a negative directorate view of MFLs. However, a large majority of local authority respondents indicated that there had not been coherent campaigns to improve MFLs in their authority since 1996. The majority of authority officers (and a minority of national agency officers), however, also had concerns about the attitude, supportiveness and commitment of (some/many) primary and secondary headteachers, but particularly the latter. Many found it difficult to respond to the quantitative questionnaire questions about headteachers as they wished to give one (smaller) group of headteachers high grades for positive promotion of MFL

and another (larger) group negative grades for abandonment of, or active hostility to, MFLs.

Headteachers and deputes were generally very negative about national government's commitment to improve MFLs, as opposed to their 'rhetoric' (e.g. M0032, M0050, M0053), although the majority were positive about the recent intent behind '1+2', but less so about the degree of support and cooperation which they expected. Particular distrust, although to an extent varying significantly across authorities, was reserved for the capacity, focus and supportiveness of post-1996 local authorities. This view reflected both a general view of diminished capacity and cooperation, but also a specific view that both government and authorities had 'given up on' (M0036) MFLs.

5.3.4 On MFL Policy, Practice and Qualifications

The impact of agency on policy is considered in detail in Section 6.2, where policy changes are examined in context and related to pedagogical, political and qualifications-related events. As seen there, a significant number of these relate directly to the agency of individuals or groups. It is through this agency, largely of national committee members (and therefore of the triumvirate members who selected them) that MFLs have been consistently been optional for much or all of the secondary curriculum since 1907 and have had very little exposure in primary during the same period. This reality is contradictory to most political and educational statements of intent (e.g. HMI,

1990; Scottish Executive, 1998; MAG, 2000; Scottish Executive, 2000; Scottish Government, 2012)) about the importance or centrality of MFLs but this contradiction has never been made clear at times of significant press/national interest, e.g. in 1998, 2005, 2013.

Once again, the individual most quoted – and positively so – by respondents in this context is Lord Forsyth. For example:

> With the honourable exception of Mr M. Forsyth, some headteachers and a few EA personnel, there has been a systemic failure of direction. (M0021).

Respondents' views of the impact of agency on policy was best encapsulated by respondents M0021 and M0026, both national agency officers:

> MFLs are governed by periodic outbreaks of national self-flagellation at how 'hopeless' we are at ML compared to other Europeans. A Minister then 'jumps on the bandwagon' and thinks there is a 'quick fix'. National initiatives are then implemented with varying degrees of success at local level, then 'peter out' as the funding dries up, then the next initiative comes along. (M0026),

> The political/educational rhetoric regarding the economic/academic/ societal importance of MFL has not generally been backed up by placing MFL in the core curriculum. (M0021).

The ability of macro and meso actors to change the development and implementation of policy and practice was much commented upon by

respondents, particularly in more recent contexts, including:

> Citizens of a Multilingual World *should* have moved things forward but was not rolled out as intended and some of the key recommendations ignored.
>
> (M0023).

> Citizens of a Multilingual World fell foul of politics - with a small p and a large P - and so failed.
>
> (M0049)

> Local authorities did not play the agreed roles in promoting Citizens of a Multilingual World.
>
> (M0013).

This ability of agency, deliberately or accidentally, to amend policy and practice is also seen as potentially detrimental to MFLs and the 'Law of Unintended Consequences' was invoked by a broad range of respondents. Comments covered the apparently unintended '…. movement to one dominant language (French) from earlier diversification policy ' (M0043); the demise of Languages For All: 'Languages for All has now all but collapsed, although I am a lifelong supporter!' (M0003); the negative impact of *Curriculum for Excellence*, largely in '6 columns in S4' schools: 'CfE has been used to damage MFL provision.' (M0003); as well as the impact of Circular 3/2001 and Curriculum Flexibility:

> Within the context of CfE I think that giving schools more flexibility to react to local circumstances is a real positive. However I also believe the unintended result of the current governance structure will be a fairly

> dramatic decline in the number of students opting for a MFL at National Five. (M0036).

However, the greatest degree of criticism, across all governance layers, related to the implementation of MLPS version 2 and the primary training programme attached thereto:

> …it was an ill-conceived project, which tried to teach primary teachers to use ring-fenced MFL in small amounts of time. The domination of French continued, as many PS teachers had studied French (before the policy of diversification), thus making it a vicious circle of French being taught badly (poor accents, pronunciation, grammar) and putting youngsters off the language. It was not a top priority in Primary Schools, and very little of the required weekly time was ever spent on MFL, so that pupils got the idea that it is not important.
>
> (M0043).

> There is a misguided focus on primary MLs.
>
> (M0026).

5.3.5 On MFL Outcomes

As Chapter 6 demonstrates, uptake and attainment in MFLs contrast with whole-curriculum attainment which has largely plateaued (Smith, 2013, pp. 16-18), whereas MFL attainment has fallen steadily (see Figures 6. 1 – 6.5) despite all forms of individual and grouped agency. Respondents' views of the reasons for this were well aligned. For example,

MFL has been governed poorly – too many ill thought-out initiatives.

(M0050).

Problems are caused by politicians, policy-makers and others thinking there is a ‘quick fix.

(M0026)

… overall lack of concerted efforts across sectors, agencies and players, to bring about positive change.

(M0023)

Developments have been incoherent, especially in primary.

(M0050)

However, a small minority of respondents suggested that some improvements had occurred, although they were less certain about this improvement coming from a national or authority drive:

> Improvements came from government and local authority initiatives related to national initiatives and also from the engagement, and renewed enthusiasm, of teachers.
>
> (M0036)

> All campaigns generally lead to improvement because they cause people to reassess what they’re doing. The ‘big’ initiatives such as Munn, Dunning and CfE have had major effects on all teaching/learning, and each did improve ML practice.
>
> (M0045: headteacher)

> Some EAs and schools are very successful: high uptake of MLs and high levels of success and motivation amongst learners. This happens when there is commitment to ML learning at EA and school SMT level

and the ML dept. provides good learning experiences and pupils know they will achieve success.

(M0026)

SUMMARY

The effects of agency have included:

- An apparent lack of common purpose wih respect to MFL improvement, within and across governance levels and sub-levels.
- Contention within and among First and Second Triumvirate elements.
- A long-term and significant gap between stated political intentions with respect to MFLs and educational policy.

Significant issues identified by respondents (but, necessarily, not all verifiable from other data sources) included:

- A strong view by respondents that ‘agency trumps structure - every time’, although the wider set of evidence suggests that agency and structure are in a more symbiotic relationship.
- A (large) minority view among national agency respondents that at least some national agencies (e.g. LTS, SQA and Education Scotland) have attempted to gain advantages over each other by restricting the information they pass to other agencies, selectively briefing politicians or civil servants and stage-managing some meetings.
- A perceived negative attitude towards non-elite learners among some or many MFL teachers and Principal Teachers.
- Concerns about the quality of MFL teaching in some schools.
- Concerns about possible misuse of ‘Citizens of a Multilingual World’ funding by local authorities.
- Widespread concerns about perceived non-promotion of MFLs by ministers, civil servants, directors, headteachers and/or teachers.
- A perception among national and authority respondents that many headteachers are actively removing MFL courses and teachers.
- A reverse perception among headteachers that neither national governments nor (some/many) local authorities have effectively resourced or promoted MFLs since the Forsyth era.
- Widespread concerns among secondary school respondents about the quality of MFL leadership and teaching in primary schools.
- Some concerns among primary respondents about the commitment of secondary headteachers to collaboration with primary colleagues.

5.4 Issues Arising from Agency

5.4.1 Summary Findings on Agency

Elite and key governance actors, individually and in groups, exert agency in the governance of Scottish education and of MFLs in particular. Most operate with in their own governance level, but a few transcend this and make a wider contribution for a time. Few elite individuals have made a significant contribution and, of these, by far the most significant for MFLs is Michael Forsyth, not least because his impact is the only significant positive contribution by an elite individual actor. In general, ministers occupy too short a time frame (and may lack the interest or vision) to make a lasting difference to a curricular area such as MFLs. 'Quiet agency', that of directors, headteachers, principal teachers and teachers operating within their own area(s), is the more significant form of individual agency but represents a double-edged sword as they may exercise this agency for the benefit of MFL learning and teaching or otherwise.

Group agency, whether of formal organisations or informal networks can be highly influential, particularly among those groups occupying the (current) high ground within their governance level, although councils, directorates, schools and individuals can (and, at times, successfully do) re-interpret or resist such national drives. Of organisations, the Civil Service and HMIe have been the most successful in influencing/controlling MFLs and the wider curriculum.

Curricular agencies have had occasional significant successes interspersed with significant reversals. Local authority directorates have made no significant impact on MFLs nor, in general, do they show significant interest in this area. School senior management teams are split regarding MFLs but significantly more appear indifferent, or even hostile, to MFLs than positive.

Respondents almost all agreed that national government and headteachers are the key agents in MFL governance. Directors of education were only rated positively in this by council respondents. The same pattern applied to the support and control of MFLs, although directors were more strongly rated for control by all parties.

There is a strong body of documentary and opinion-based evidence to suggest that the governance of education should adhere to something akin to the PDCA or HMIe cyclical approach to planning, implementing, evaluating and amending initiatives. However, there is little evidence to suggest that this happens effectively, particularly at the national and council levels. National agents seem strong in planning and policy, councils in training and resourcing but both are weak elsewhere and particularly poor at the ends of the cycle - in research, evaluation and amendment. Schools appear much stronger in all but research: governance actors of all levels and layers see school governance as strongest in action and impact but the issue of the positive or negative aspects of school leaders' actions again appears here.

There is little evidence of governance agents making common cause in attempting to consistently promote MFL learning and teaching, despite intermittent political statements. This position is further weakened by poor communications, limited partnerships, contention and - at times, by some - subversion.

5.4.2 On Being 'Inside the Tent'

> National government have the biggest voice but SQA, Education Scotland, the EIS and the like also have some form of say.
>
> (M0016).

All interviewees were asked who was genuinely involved in taking key decisions to develop and improve MFLs and who would be listened to by the First Triumvirate – a crucial aspect given their continuing hold on the strategic governance of the curriculum. These ideas were initially introduced to interviewees using the question: 'Who is inside the governance tent?'

There was remarkable unanimity among interviewees about many actors' positions relative to 'the tent'. From the national layer, Minsters and the Scottish Office/Executive/Government were consistently seen as within the tent (although individual actors only stay for brief intervals. Senior and some middle-ranking civil servants were almost unanimously considered to have been consistently within the tent. National curricular agencies were perceived

to come and go from the tent, with the impending demise of a curricular agency paralleling its expulsion from the tent and its subsequent inability to access elite national actors. Interestingly, there was some feeling that, although to a lesser extent, this phenomenon had also applied to HMIe, during the Forsyth, post-2000 and Hyslop periods. Respondents were unclear about the current status of Education Scotland, although the majority feeling was that the agency had significant potential power but was not fully 'within the tent'.

At a local level, councillors and directors were largely seen as outside the tent, although instances were given of occasions when individual directors (and ex-directors) had led MFL initiatives or were useful to civil servants as facilitators and were thus, for a while, admitted. A minority of respondents from local authority and school backgrounds questioned whether this was a genuine admission to the ranks of the decision-makers or whether the need for these directors' skills in operational/chairmanship roles gave them a token, but neither lasting nor genuine, acceptance by the real incumbents of the tent.

The school and 'cloud' layers were virtually unanimously seen as outwith the tent. However, minorities of respondents indicated that a) at least one (private school) headteacher had been accorded the same status as some directors and b) that the inability of MFL teachers to directly influence their area of operations had resulted in the erection of 'other tents' wherein at least some MFL teachers had come to informal agreements about how to respond (or not)

to governmental initiatives. Parents were also seen to have own tents (and to use them as shields against having to engage with MFLs) although national parents' groups were perceived to have some currency with civil servants.

The summary view, shared by a large majority, was that a group of senior and middle-ranking civil servants, joined by Ministers, Inspectors, national agency leaders and directors for differing periods, occupied 'the tent' and were thus in a position, when they wished, to steer the development of MFLs.

5.4.3 Partnership, Centralism or Anarchy

> … it is important that we do not underestimate the continuing effectivity of the powers of the state, but also important that we do not in abstract overestimate them, nor treat the state as an undifferentiated whole.
> (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p.8).

Although commenting on the wider governance of education, Ball and Junemann raise some of the key issues explored in section 5.2 and also through the 'governance tent' concept. From respondents' views quoted in this chapter, it is clear that local authorities, headteachers or MFL teachers come no nearer to Ball and Junemann's 'undifferentiated whole' than does the national layer of governance. The combination of published sources and respondents' views provides an evolving picture of power relationships, with a

constant backdrop to these provided by asymmetric control through a continuing nested hierarchy led by the First Triumvirate.

Partnership

Discussion of partnership drew far more support from respondents for the second quote than the first:

> The key influence is partnership reaching out to pupils, parents and the business world.
>
> (M0013).

> Through the last forty years national politicians have driven their own particular agenda regardless of the thoughts of the profession.
>
> (M0036)

The Scottish Office definition of partnership in education appears to have never extended below local authorities, other than in the Forsyth period, although his view of 'partnership' was not conventional. Based on the evidence available, partnership does not appear to have improved in recent times, despite increased networking, and it is uncertain from this research whether partnership actually holds sway, either within the First Triumvirate or beyond.

Plurality

> British politics may be characterized by plurality, but it does not reflect a pluralist power structure. In our view, the power structure is asymmetrical and in order to provide a fuller account of British politics, we need to acknowledge and explore that asymmetry.
> (Marsh, Richards and Smith, 2001b, p. 332).

As almost all respondents suggested, and in keeping with the views of Marsh, Richards and Smith, there are clear asymmetries of power, with the Scottish government (nationally), headteachers (locally) and, to a lesser extent, directors of education holding the levers of power (see Chapter 4). As previously noted, the 'metagovernance' view of Scottish educational governance is held by a small majority of respondents to be accurate, albeit 'in the shadow of hierarchy' (Scharpf, 1997) and with varying extents of group or individual agency present. However, there is a strong line of argument by a large minority of school, authority and national respondents that the current SNP government is gathering power back into central control. A small minority of respondents with school or authority backgrounds suggested that corporate management teams held sway in their local authorities, also tightening central control in this layer. This is, however, contested and appears to vary markedly across councils. In the school layer, by almost universal agreement, headteachers hold power over their schools and are very powerful players, possibly involving their senior colleagues and/or Parent Councils, but not consistently so.

All of this supports the view evinced by some well-connected respondents (e.g. M0016, M0020, M0021, M0049, M0081) of three poorly linked, layered hierarchies, each with embedded sub-layers and linkages. Within each layer, agency is exerted by a 'core executive' (Rhodes, 1994, 1996): nationally, this increasingly consists of politicians and civil servants; locally, of senior politicians, occasionally the chief executive, usually the director and sometimes other directorate members; at school, the headteacher, probably with the SMT and possibly with the Parent Council (depending on the quality of input/governance). The national layer remains strong, although changed; the local authority is seriously weakened and schools are strengthened but far from independent of the others. This does not constitute anarchy, as schools still formally answer to education authorities and education authorities have legal duties to effectively implement education policy in a way which improves education experiences for the young people in their area. Some of the ties that bind them appear to be loosening but those related to central control appear, according to current commentators (e.g. Bloomer, 2013, Boyd, 2013) and to a majority of respondents, to be re-strengthening

5.4.4 Rise and Fall: Centralisation, Authority Decline and School Autonomy

> I would argue that the whole educational process stands in need of far-reaching change and that our system of governance is obsolete.'
>
> (M0016)

The issues raised in the previous sub-section lead to a consideration of the relative strengths of layers and of whether the agency of individuals and

groups in these layers is stable, strengthening or weakening. These are among the most significant issues in this chapter, deriving from almost unanimously held respondents' views that, in the second half of the timescale of this study, the extents of control and of capacity to act effectively of the three main layers of governance – national, local authority and school management – have changed significantly. Central government has strengthened its hold on policy-making and has used both primary legislation and the actions of HMIe to increase compliance with policy. Local authorities have declined, losing personnel, expertise, resources and, differentially, the capacity to promote, support and develop the curriculum and, specifically, MFLs. M0021 summarised the views of almost all who worked with local authorities, including a minority of authority officers, in saying:

> It is difficult to see what role education authorities have played here in other than a very few authorities. This means that a major layer of governance seems to be missing.
>
> (M0021).

In schools, headteachers have emerged as a separate school governance layer but their use of their new freedom has been stereotypically cautious and far from uniform, not least in their influence on MFLs.

These respondent views are paralleled by some notable professional and academic commentators. Ledingham (2013), noting that 'locally elected members and senior officers have held sway over education with a constancy that few other aspects of public service delivery can match' (2013, p.174),

nevertheless suggests that 80-90% of the daily work of schools takes place without reference to the local political mandate (2013, p.176). He also accepts, as did Bloomer (1999, p.158), that schools and their authorities are obliged to conform to national legislative and curricular guidance and 'advice'. Bloomer (2013) has recently revisited this area, suggesting that:

> 'as educational management has become increasingly a matter of conscious policy making rather than merely administration, the relationships among the three layers of management have become more uneasy'
>
> (2013, p. 1004)

and devoting much of his chapter to 'the decline of local government' (2013, p.1005), identifying the centralising roles of national policy and of increased national accountability through inspection, along with the growth of school/headteacher autonomy as key drivers for the possible disappearance of the local authority educational governance layer. He sees possible national over-government, increasing devolved management of schools, nationally-controlled policy and linked curricular initiatives as all contributing to the weakening of the local authority layer. Both commentators, perhaps constrained by their council and directorate backgrounds, accept that the local authority layer of educational may disappear but propose a number of ways in which it might be retained, albeit in very changed circumstances.

MacBeath (2013), however, takes a more radical view of the 'limitations and sterility of so much education policy' (2013, p. 1021) and the structures which

generate such policy than do his fellow authors. He employs a quote from Seymour Papert, the ICT visionary:

> If the way we think of change is limited by imagining things very much like the ones we know (even if 'better'), or by confining ourselves to doing what we know how to implement, then we deprive ourselves of participation in the evolution of the future.
> (Papert, 2002, quoted in MacBeath, 2013, p.1021)

to suggest that simply tinkering with existing systems (or curricula) is unlikely to provide the answer. M0016 would suggest that Papert is describing the basic *credo* of the Civil Service.

These issues of agency – increasing centralisation (of policy and of compliance through inspection) by national government, the decline of councils (and of the capacity of their education authorities, directorates and support services) and increasingly unfettered headteacher power – have together generated many of the problems faced by MFLs in the last 15 to 20 years. Their impact is seen very clearly in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 Governance of MFL Developments In Scotland (1962 – 2012)

This is the most challenging chapter to conceptualise as it brings together a significant volume of findings on how the structures and agents of politico-educational governance in Scotland, as identified and analysed in Chapters 4 and 5, have attempted to improve (by envisaging, developing, resourcing, carrying out and evaluating various policies and programmes) Modern Foreign Language learning, teaching and assessment.

In attempting this task, this chapter draws on the elements of governance and examines how governance actors operating within and across governance structures have attempted to promote, lead, manage, implement and evaluate a range of MFL initiatives. In so doing it draws together a very broad range of windows on the processes of governance. As Chapter 5 required the development of a new tool (the 'governance wheels') with which to measure agency, this chapter requires the creation of a completely new timeline (Table 6.3) within which all relevant national and local political events and actions, governance structure changes, MFL development waves (containing related curricular development schemes), assessment changes and developments and key national reports are set against the changing patterns of MFL enrolment and attainment. This forms the basis for a significant part of the chapter, facilitating a detailed examination of how waves of MFL or pan-curricular initiatives were governed.

In Section 6.1, the two sub-sections examine the first half of the governance wheel - leadership and vision, research, planning, consultation and the development of policy - providing a postwar historical narrative demonstrating how the politico-educational vision for MFLs evolved, sometimes slowly and sometimes in quite different directions, and a parallel narrative of how these political and policy changes impacted on the position of MFLs within the curriculum. Section 6.2 examines the second half of the governance wheel – development, training, resourcing management and implementation, but also seeking to find whether evaluation of success and failure took place and whether amendment of policy or initiatives resulted from this - tracing the paths taken by the ten development waves (and their twenty-one embedded initiatives) which have impacted upon MFLs since 1962, analysing how, why and with what success governance agents carried through these initiatives. Section 6.3 provides a quite different view of governance, examining governance inputs made to the MFL development process (in terms of provision of courses, qualifications, learners and teachers) and outputs from that process (in terms of attainment and societal linguistic capacity).

As in previous chapters, each section is completed by a short summary but Section 6.4 is simply a holistic overview of these findings as the many issues are carried into the following chapter to be addressed with the findings and issues from Chapters 4 and 5 and analysed against governance models and tools drawn from the literature review in Chapter 2.

6.1 MFL Vision, Policy and Curricular Status

6.1.1 From Vision to Policy

> It is graphically clear that there hasn't been a vision for MFLs.
>
> (M0016)

Almost all respondents stated that the national MFL vision has neither been consistently positive nor consistently communicated to parents, learners, teachers or authority/school leaders. The modal answer to the question: 'Has there been a consistent vision for MFLs in Scotland?' was 'No". This was amplified by respondents through comments such as:

> There has not been a consistent vision for MFL. Originally, MFL was for an elite group. During the Forsyth period, there *was* a vision. Maybe it was a "you've been telt" approach, but it *did* produce results
>
> (M0001)

> Little longitudinal strategy is evident in learning and teaching of Modern Languages.
>
> (M0040, headteacher).

Successive statements of MFL vision and policy varied markedly but have frequently not seen MFLs as a core subject after or, at times, before the point where choice enters the curriculum of each learner. Throughout the timescale of this study, neither the vision nor its public presentation has generated a

consistent rationale for young people to study MFLs after the compulsory period of MFL learning. The changing vision for MFLs is best seen in the introductory and rationale sections of successive national curricular and MFL policies, since, as a large majority of school and authority respondents indicated, councils do not seem to have - or very rarely refer to – their own MFL policies.

Development of Vision and Policy Pre 1962

As Table 6.1 illustrates, MFLs in Scotland have not had a simple existence in policy terms, causing multiple changes to their curricular status. Although this thesis deals with the last half-century, it is necessary to place this in a context of emerging philosophy and policy. Table 6.1 demonstrates eleven changes of MFL policy/status in sixty-six years, effectively a change every six years, although almost half of these changes have occurred since 2000 (a change every 2.4 years).

Table 6.1 The Status of Modern Foreign Languages in Scottish Educational Policy from 1907 to 2013

Document	Date	Nature	Curricular Status of Modern Foreign Languages
Memorandum on Foreign Language teaching and Learning	1907	S.E.D. Memorandum	Optional throughout the secondary years
Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland	1947	S.E.D. Report (Cmnd 7005)	Throughout secondary: Optional
Report of the Working Party on the Curriculum of the Senior Secondary School	1959	S.E.D. Report	S1/2: Optional S3/4: Optional (although the most able should be encouraged) S5/6: Optional
Primary Educsation in Scotland: The Primary Memorandum	1965	S.E.D. Memorandum	Undefined: experiment to be considered at any points between P1 and P7.
Organisation of Courses Leading to the Scottish Certificate of Education [The Ruthven Report]	1967	S.E.D. Report	[Report not implemented.] S1-S6: Optional
The Structure of the Curriculum in the Third and Fourth Years of the Scottish Secondary School [The Munn Report]	1977	S.E.D./C.C.C. Report	S1/2: Compulsory (para. 4.11) S3/4: [5 modes + electives (para.7.11)] Elective (para. 4.11) (although the most able should be encouraged) S5/6: Implies availability as a multi (SCQF) level option (paras. 10.7 – 10.8)
Curriculum and Asessment for the 90s	1987	S.E.D. Report	S1-4: Compulsory S5/6: Optional
Circulars 1178 and 1187	1989	S.E.D. Circulars	Pre-P6: optional P6-S4: compulsory S5-S6: optional
Curriculum Design for the Secondary Stages – Guidelines for Headteachers	1989	S.C.C.C. Report	S1/2: Compulsory (part of Language mode) S3/4: Compulsory (part of Language mode) S5/6: Optional
Upper Secondary Education in Scotland {The Howie Report]	1992	S.O.E.D. Report	S1/2: No comment S3/4: Compulsory S5/6: Optional
Higher Still: Opportunity for All	1992	S.O.E.D. Report	S1/2: No comment S3/4: Compulsory S5/6: Optional
Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: National Guidelines: Modern European Languages	1993	S.O.E.D. 5-14 Guidelines	P1-P7: Not considered S1-S2: Compulsory

Table 6.1 (continued)

Document	Date	Nature	Curricular Status of Modern Foreign Languages
Citizens of a Multilingual World	2000	Ministerial Action Group report	No compulsion. Individual entitlement to 500 hours' MFL learning. Optional beyond the entitlement.
Modern Languages: 5-14 National Guidelines	2000	L.T.S. Revised 5-14 Guidelines	P1-P5: Not compulsory P6-S2: Compulsory
Circular 3/2001: Guidance on Flexibility in the Curriculum	2001	S.E.E.D. Circular	Moves responsibility for curriculum design (including MFL) to HT to 'meet the needs of the community' "By giving pupils an entitlement to education in a modern language but not compelling such study schools, pupils and parents should be in the best possible position to ensure that the needs of each pupil are met appropriately." (p.4)
Citizens of a Multilingual World (CoaMW)	2001	Scottish Executive M.W.G. Report	Compulsory in S1/2 S3-6: Recommendation 2: "All students should be entitled to experience of learning a modern language."
Ministerial Response to CoaMW	2001	Scottish Executive	Entitlement for all in S3-S6 ["Local authorities will be provided with financial support to help them ensure that this entitlement is available in schools in their area." (p.8)]
Curriculum for excellence: Building the Curriculum 3: A Framework for Learning and Teaching	2008	Scottish Government	S1-S3: MFL Es and Os compulsory S4-S6: optional (but some schools ignore the S1-S3 requirement and those with 6 columns in S4 experience rapid drop in uptake)
Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Approach	2012	Scottish Government L.W.G. Report	P1-P7: 1 MFL/Community Language (L2) compulsory from P1, some experience of a secondMFL/CommL (L3) from P5 at the latest S1-S3: L2 compulsory; L3 less clear "progression" Secn. 4, para. 4

MFLs were not part of the First Triumvirate's core educational vision in the early twentieth century. In 1907, the SED stated that, 'the knowledge of a language other than the mother tongue is not a necessary part of the equipment of an educated mind' (SED, 1947, p.86). Despite the declining curricular position of Classics (*ibid*., pp.79-80) and tensions among English, Classics and MFLs (Paterson, 2011, pp.110-111; SED, 1947, pp.78-82), this view remained unchanged throughout the debates about secondary education during the interwar period. In the years after the Second World War, these debates were resolved by two reports: the 1947 Secondary Education Report of the Sixth Advisory Council on Education in Scotland and the 1959 Report of the Working Party on the Curriculum of the Senior Secondary School. Referring to the quote from the 1907 Memorandum, the (ultimately) influential 1947 Report makes an 'unqualified acceptance of this view' (SED, 1947, p.86) but insists that such a stance 'does not detract in the least from the great value of language learning', although only for 'those who are able to profit from it' (*ibid*., p.86). This is amplified in paragraph 99:

> 99. We do not propose to argue the case for putting Mathematics in its more formal aspects and foreign languages outside the core … for the evidence is conclusive that very many children, perhaps even a majority, are incapable of progressing any distance in these subjects or of extracting any substantial benefit from their study.
>
> (*ibid*., 1947, p. 20).

These issues were revisited in the 1959 Report (Circular 412) (SED, 1959a) which led to Circular 424 (SED, 1959b) on the Introduction of the Ordinary Grade. The 1959 Report again saw MFLs as an S1-6 option (SED, 1959a,

p.12), with no suggested curricular role for, or pedagogical advice on, MFLs and only a brief example in the Appendix, competing for pupils' attention with Latin, Commercial, Homecraft and Science (*ibid*., 1959a, pp.65-67). Thus, by the early 1960s, the vision for MFLs was merely as an option for (some of) the most able in senior secondary schools and barely registering in junior secondary schools (Paterson, 2003 pp.134-5). Inevitably, the percentage of pupils in a given year group expected to study for or attain a qualification in MFLs was small. The 1947 Report had addressed this issue in a specific section 'To What Proportion of Pupils Can Languages be Taught?' (SED, 1947, p.90), suggesting that: 'a good many of the boys and girls in senior secondary schools who are attempting a language might be better employed' (*ibid.*, p.90) and also that, despite having been petitioned to encourage MFL courses in junior secondary schools:

> to indulge the wish for a language may mean excluding from the schooling of these children something else which would have proved of more solid worth to them.
>
> (*ibid*., p.90).

The report accepts, however, that for pupils of average ability, 'the better Cs' (*ibid*., p.91), 'headmasters should be free to try such pupils with simple Spanish or French' (*ibid*., p.91) and also makes a plea for Russian 'for selected boys and girls of sixteen or more' (*ibid*., p.91). The 1959 Report accepts the views of the 1947 Report, talking of the 'wastage' of able pupils failing to complete certificate courses and evinces two reasons for this, one of which is 'the over-emphasis for many of these pupils on the linguistic side'

(SED, 1959, p.14). Both documents, however, do accept that for the able - 'a bookish minority' (SED, 1947, p.21) as the 1947 Report describes them - MFLs have potential as part of a cluster of Highers 'still largely framed for pupils aiming at a university entrance qualification' (*Education in Scotland 1964*, SED, 1965, as cited in McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.43). Although McPherson and Raab perceive this as elitism, a large minority of respondents saw the subsequent withdrawal of the university entrance requirement for a Higher MFL as a major reason for the downturn in MFL uptake.

Before 1962, primary MFLs had barely existed. In England, the Plowden Report (1967) indicated there had been 'sporadic, individual and quite uncoordinated attempts to teach a modern language, nearly always French, in primary schools' (DES, 1967, p.223). The Department of Education and Science (DES) undertook responsibility for organising MFL teacher training and also established a joint steering committee (*ibid*., p.224). Parallel initiatives were implemented in Scotland, supported by the SED but poorly outlined in the Primary Memorandum (SED, 1965, pp.202-209), leading to various approaches to the teaching of French in primary schools. However, this experiment was not to last.

Vision and Policy: 1962 to the mid 1980s

After Circular 424 (SED, 1959b), nearly a generation passed without secondary curricular policy changes, until the twin Munn and Dunning reports (SED, 1977a, 1977b) on curriculum and assessment, although a limited

attempt at reviewing the secondary curriculum had occurred in 1967 (the Ruthven Report (HMSO, 1967)). Meanwhile, two of the key recommendations from the 1947 Report, the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) to 16 (Circular 898 (SED, 1974) and the ROSLA report (SED, 1976)) and the introduction of 'omnibus' or comprehensive schools across the state sector (Circular 600 (SED, 1965)), were finally introduced, although with considerable debate, particularly in the latter case. These are further considered in Section 6.3 as statistical and documentary findings suggest that they played significant, but little considered, roles in the MFL situation.

The Munn Report, *The Structure of the Curriculum in the Third and Fourth Years of the Scottish Secondary School* (SED, 1977a), had a more positive vision for MFLs than its predecessors:

> There are strong arguments for including a second language in the curriculum, and we are convinced that it is right to introduce all pupils to foreign language study in S1 and S2.
>
> (SED, 1977a: p.24).

This returned MFLs to the S1/S2 core curriculum but, since Primary MFL developments had recently ended, the word ‘introduce’ seems a policy statement that MFL courses would *begin* in S1. Munn maintained the *status quo* in S3/4 (SED, 1977a, p.24), continuing to discourage less able pupils and promoting MFLs only for able pupils:

> Experience so far in schools leaves some doubt as to whether the advantages … can be achieved in the time available with pupils of low linguistic ability, who may see little relevance in foreign language study, and who may in fact have only a limited degree of competence in English itself. For these reasons we recommend that all pupils should have the opportunity of studying one or more foreign languages in S3 and S4, if they so wish, but that they should not in the present circumstances be compelled to do so. In the case of pupils of some linguistic ability, however, positive encouragement should be given to them to continue foreign language study in S3 and S4, whether or not they intend to be specialist linguists.
>
> (SED, 1977a, p.24)

The Dunning Report, *Assessment For All* (SED, 1977b), made no comments on MFLs in its main text. On p.112, however, it quotes from Alison Kelly's work (SCEEB, 1976). Kelly had indicated that MFLs were amongst the most difficult subjects in which to gain a pass, that girls were more likely to take MFLs than boys and that, being a 'difficult subject', only the more able were likely to opt for the subject. The tables on pages 128-130 of Dunning show increasing enrolments in French and German but a deterioration of attainment over the period 1972 – 1976, amounting to -7% in French and -13% in German. Again, this suggests that the issue of decline in MFL attainment was both apparent and publicly reported before the arrival of Standard Grade.

As noted, this was not a fruitful period for those with a vision for an early start to MFL learning in primary schools. The initial enthusiasm for ‘French from Eight’ in England (1963 – 1974) and its Scottish French in Primary Schools equivalent were dealt what proved to be fatal blows by the Scottish HMI report on French in the Primary School (HMI, 1969) and the Burstall Report (1974) in England, neither of which found substantial gain for pupils, particularly if seen

from the inevitable academic viewpoint of later attainment in the secondary school.

The Mid Eighties to 1996

Despite the political flurry surrounding ROSLA and comprehensivisation, Humes (1995) correctly suggests that, 'prior to [Michael] Forsyth's arrival on the scene, political input into the policy process had been relatively weak' (p.116). Vision and policy had relied heavily on First Triumvirate officials who sampled the views of trusted authority, agency and tertiary education leaders. As Humes (*ibid.*, p.117) puts it, 'Forsyth quickly disturbed the complacency of the operation' with a radical agenda which reinvigorated Standard Grade and launched the 5-14 initiative (SED, 1987). Forsyth is also seen, in print (HMI, 1990, p. 9) and by some respondents (e.g. M0001, M0049, M0051), as specifically responsible for the reappearance of primary MFL learning, as part of initiatives intended, for the first time, to simultaneously improve learning and teaching from nursery to S4. MFLs occupied a prominent position in this due to Forsyth's perception of the impending opportunities and challenges of Europe. His 'Languages for All' approach envisaged a Scottish society where learners (as future workers) of all interests and abilities would develop MFL skills enabling them to compete in the European workplace, thus strengthening the UK economy. Essentially, this is a combination of the economic and political imperatives for MFL. In Section 6.3, however, we shall see that the initiatives embodying this vision were less well crafted. Although Forsyth's time as minister (and his government's time in power) was inevitably

limited and did not achieve all that he had intended, his vision, especially of the importance of MFLs, has been pervasive. Before Forsyth, policy saw MFLs as wholly/largely optional, primary MFLs had been tried and rejected, MFLs commenced in S1 and were only compulsory until the end of S2 - one of the briefest learning windows for MFLs in Europe. Since Forsyth, primary MFLs have continued (supported both by policy and finance), MFLs remained as core subjects from S1 to S4 until 2001 when CoaMW (MAG, 2000) and Circular 3/2001 (SEED, 2001b) interacted, possibly unintentionally, to undermine this. Most tellingly, the Scottish media now see any signs of governmental failure to promote and improve MFL learning as a cause for national alarm (e.g. BBC, 1999, 2013; TESS, 2007, 2011a, 2011b), although a media tendency to express alarm at *any* perceived governmental failure should be noted. A balanced view is found in noting that MFL 'failures' are subject to particularly strident and sustained media clamour, thus reinforcing the point that their importance has been enhanced since Forsyth.

Given the animosity between the Thatcher and Major governments and (many) Scottish regional councils, it is notable that Forsyth's MFL vision was not contested by regional educational authorities - a sharp contrast to his non-curricular educational initiatives. Authorities adopted MLPS, 5-14 and Standard Grade and subject advisers took on the challenges of supporting local implementation. Since this was the era of national curricular advice to headteachers (SCCC, 1989a, 1999), schools almost without exception complied with national and authority advice, albeit with some limited variations

based on their local view of the importance of a second MFL and/or the teaching of MFLs to pupils with additional support needs.

1996 to the Present

As noted in Chapters 4 and 5, the period before and after disaggregation of local councils in 1996 and devolution in 1999 was challenging, with an accompanying lack of orderly (national or local) political or educational progression. The impact of this is analysed in section 6.3 (decades 4 and 5) but it is clear that the national vision for MFLs suffered in the Tory to New Labour to devolved Lab-Lib coalition transitions. This was overlaid on a local government landscape dominated by several years of resistance followed by aspects of panic and survival, followed by several years of attempting to build new services. None of this, however, implies an absence of political vision, policy or initiatives during this period. As the next section demonstrates there were (too?) many: the problem lay in consistency as succeeding governments, ministers and councils injected discontinuity and uncertainty into the policy sphere, impacting upon initiatives, which were pushed through, limited in effect or simply left behind by the next minister or government. There were specific effects on MFLs: 5-14 Modern Languages did not initially include primary MFLs, despite the parallel development of Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS). Somehow, it took thirteen years (until 2000) to implement revised 5-14 MFL guidelines acknowledging this. Further aspects of confusion were generated in S3/4 by the dual existence of S Grade and

National Certificate MFL courses between 1999 and 2013, thus complicating progression to Higher. The SQA crisis of 2000 did not assist this aspect.

The greatest confusion, however, came from the Ministerial Action Group on Languages in its *Citizens of a Multilingual World* (CoaMW) report (MAG, 2000) which, despite an apparently positive ministerial response (Scottish Executive, 2000a), ended as little more than a (very expensive - £19.7 million) MLPS training programme. Almost all respondents attributed responsibility for this to someone else - directors of education, civil servants, ministerial turnover, the lengthy gestation period of *Curriculum for Excellence* and, most commonly, the unhelpful impact (see pp. 331-2) of Circular 3/2001 (SEED, 2001b). Integration of official documents, published academic analysis and respondents' views suggests that Forsyth's vision of Languages for All in P6/7 to S4 was muddied by these various factors, especially by the orthogonal impacts of CoaMW and Circular 3/2001, to such an extent that HMIs were repeatedly required (e.g. McKinstry, 2004 pp.1-3; Renton 2004, 2009) to state that the 'Languages for All' policy still held and that the relation between Circular 3/2001 on one side and CoaMW's 'language entitlement' on the other displayed 'more similarities than tensions' (McKinstry (2004, p.2). That this was not a successful process is demonstrated by the fate of HMIe's report to SEED on *Progress in addressing the recommendations of Citizens of a Multilingual World* (HMIe, 2005a) and its less-publicly-circulated December 2005 (HMIe, 2005b, n.p.) update, as they generated no discernible action by SEED or local authorities.

As noted in Chapter 5, many respondents see the Peacock ministerial period as a positive one, although this is not based on ministerial vision or major initiatives. Unfortunately, the troubles caused by *CoaMW* and Circular 3/2001 fell squarely in the middle of this and were not resolved by any actions of the triumvirates although HMIe are an honourable exception, having tried in 2005 (twice) and, to a lesser extent, in 2007 to raise the issues which required governance action. This post-devolution period, although seen by some respondents as a halcyon era, was the subject of fairly direct criticism of national, authority and school governance:

> Until '1+2' the government seemed to have let MFL go. CoaMW came to nothing so that left a 15-year gap.
>
> (M0001)

> There does not appear to have been a consistent, long-term strategy, or vision, and some major initiatives have been at odds with others.
>
> (M0021)

> SG [the Scottish Government] is now going all out to boost language learning but the years of neglect and decline cannot be overcome easily.
>
> (M0023)

In January 2007, the coalition administration finally produced a draft Languages policy embracing all Scotland's languages from English via Gaelic, Scots, MFLs and community languages to British Sign Language, but containing no specific programme to improve MFLs. The balance of the

document is perhaps explained by its having been issued by SEED's Cultural Policy Division. It had no impact since the incoming SNP administration, whether because of the challenges of its minority status or its specific commitment to Gaelic and Scots, did not pursue it and another five years passed before a '1+2' committee was established to implement the SNP electoral commitment to the Barcelona agreement (EC, 2002). The SNP administration accepted the committee's recommendation that all Scottish pupils should learn a second language from Primary 1 and a third from Primary 5: a programme requiring considerable implementation time before the extent of success can be judged, as accepted by the SNP's two parliamentary term timescale. Nevertheless, it represents the most positive vision for MFLs evinced by a government since Forsyth.

Four '1+2' issues remain, however. Firstly, despite good will across respondents, there is scepticism among a majority of school and authority respondents and also among a minority of national respondents as to whether this initiative can flourish where others failed. Those in this category (both respondents and academic commentators) are mostly positive regarding the vision but doubt it can be implemented given local authorities' limited resources and apparent lack of commitment, alongside the limited numbers and retention of MFL-qualified primary teachers (Tierney & Gallestegi, 2005). Secondly, they see local authorities as less capable now than at any time since 1996 (although differences among authorities were noted and some positive examples, e.g. Angus and Glasgow, were highlighted). Furthermore,

a small majority of respondents sees headteachers as a significant barrier to improving MFLs, raising issues about leadership in the primary sector and perceiving (some or many, depending on the respondent) secondary headteachers as uninterested in, or averse to, MFLs. Some headteachers themselves provided evidence that this may be the case:

> There has then been a disconnect between the emphasis placed on MFL by the governance actors at national level and the perception and experience of pupils at school level and the influence that has on the governance actors at school level. This is leading now to a significant reduction in the place of MFL in the senior phase of *Curriculum for Excellence* in my school, about which I have not had one expression of concern from any source outwith my MFL department.
>
> (M0033).

Finally, in an example of the 'Law of Unintended Consequences' which has repeatedly impeded MFL developments, CfE provides a second cross-cutting initiative to MFL progress in 15 years, representing an impediment in two ways: i) by halting compulsory MFL learning in S3 rather than S4 (although a significant minority of secondary schools does not offer even this), and ii) in schools with only six curricular columns in S4 (over 40% of schools), initial experience shows that MFLs are being squeezed into competition for the sixth column, thus moving in one year from having a majority of pupils studying MFLs to a minority. The potential implications are a further significant decline in MFL uptake, attainment and staffing. If the '1+2' vision is to be more successful than its predecessors, all of these issues will require to be addressed.

6.1.2 Curricular Status of MFLs

> The curricular position - nationally, [pause] it hasn't been clear or consistent.
>
> (M0001)

Secondary

The changing curricular status of MFLs is discernible from earlier findings in this section and is confirmed by Section 6.3. In many ways, the secondary aspects parallel changes to governance structure and agency identified in Chapters 4 and 5. From a relatively unsupported option in the early 20th century, MFLs grew in importance as universal secondary education, the slow collapse of Classics and a more broadly-based qualifications system offered MFL opportunities to far more learners. Successive national curricular committees drew MFLs into the core curriculum of the early secondary years, but not necessarily for S3-6. Entry into Europe and the personal intervention of an unusually decisive minister promoted MFLs to a core status in S1 to S4 and, following on from the then-recent impacts of ROSLA and comprehensivisation, brought an unprecedentedly large group of pupils into MFL departments. According to both research (e.g. Johnstone, 1999; McPake *et al.* 1999) and over 60% of respondents, at least some, but possibly many, MFL teachers might not have universally welcomed what proved to be around a decade of high pupil uptake. During the later 1990s and early 2000s, sustained political flux left MFLs without champions, coherent vision or effective promotion and, in the only apparent result deriving from the

Curriculum Flexibility initiative, allowed individual headteachers to override what had once been a (reasonably) coherent national system marshalled by local authority officers with some expertise in their field. This situation derived from Circular 3/2001 (SEED, 2001) which, in its published version, was highly ambiguous about MFLs, from the lukewarm reception accorded to CoaMW by authorities, schools and the First Triumvirate and from the LTS publication *Flexibility in the Secondary School Curriculum – Emerging Practice* which stated:

> The recommended [MFL] entitlement package offers a flexible approach to language learning. Approaches can be adapted to suit local circumstances and individual needs. However, the underlying principle remains that all pupils who wish to study a foreign language should have the opportunity to do so.
>
> (LTS, 2003, p.4).

As a result, MFLs returned to optional status in S3 to S6 as relatively few pupils requested MFL courses and headteachers had the support of both documents (and, according to 47% of respondents, at least tacit support from many authorities) in moving away from MFLs. School and authority respondents' testimonies, integrated with the findings of my survey of 63 secondary schools (Scott, 2014b) carried out during 2012-2014, indicate that the arrival of *Curriculum for Excellence* from 2010 appears to have accelerated the return of MFLs to optional status due to the reduced S1 to S3 core, the 6-column S4 curricular structure issues noted previously and because a minority of schools is failing to maintain MFL experiences for

pupils throughout the S1 to S3 period. Several headteachers were commendably honest about their own (and others') positions in this matter:

> While I do not necessarily think that making things compulsory is the best way to improve them, it has protected MFL from the school making it non-compulsory before the end of S3, which I think some may have wanted to do, including myself potentially.
>
> (M0033).

> I took ML out of the compulsory S3/4 core based on extensive consultation with pupils/staff.
>
> (M0041).

> HTs desire to back winners and promote subjects which are popular and get good results.
>
> (M0041)

> The power of LAs [EAs] has dwindled in MFL and the role of HTs has grown: understandable given the move to more DSM.
>
> (M0043)

as were depute headteachers:

> Not all headteachers support (or promote) MFLs.
>
> (M0051)

Other headteachers, a notably smaller group than either those ambivalent about MFLs or having a negative view about MFLs, described their support for MFLs as 'strong' (e.g. M0043, M0044, M0049) and were clear that their

personal intervention, often allied with parental support, had ensured the continuing place of MFLs. For example,

> I designed the curriculum to include ML in S3 as a 'compulsory' subject. Almost all S3 pupils continue with ML into S4.
>
> (M0040).

> … as a Head Teacher, I have striven to protect and defend MFL, but now with increasing difficulty, as the department does not seem to wish to fight for its position in CfE.
>
> (M0043)

Others were clear about the impending impact of CfE:

> … another significant dip in take up due to CfE.
>
> (M0036).

> I expect Curriculum for Excellence … will exaggerate the decline in S4 presentation, while the S5/6 will continue relatively stable.
>
> (M0041).

Primary

In primary education, the curricular status of MFLs is less connected to the changing patterns of politico-educational governance. As previously considered, primary MFLs appeared in Scotland in the 1960s as part of wider European and UK initiatives (e.g. Nuffield 'French from Eight' initiative) for earlier MFL learning, but faded due to lack of training, preparation and

effective pedagogy. Their revival was also a parallel UK process, driven in Scotland by an elite governance actor. This second insertion of MFLs into the primary curriculum has been maintained, although not without concerns (e.g. HMI, 1998, 2005a; Tierney & Gallestegi, 2005), and its continued survival has depended on a continuous injection of finance to fund training and re-training for primary teachers. Much of this cost might have been avoided if MFLs had been added to the core aspect of primary Initial Teacher Education in the mid-1980s but all governments since that time have resisted this.

In summary, the common view of a majority of school and authority respondents and of a minority – mostly agency officers – from the national layer is that the ministerial 'bursts of enthusiasm for initiatives in MLs' (M0016: see Section 6.3), particularly after adverse HMI reports or other perceived moments of crisis (e.g. publication of European statistics on linguistic capacity), do not accurately reflect the generally optional curricular status of MFLs. As M0021 indicated: 'the political/educational rhetoric regarding the economic/academic/ societal importance of MFL has not generally been backed up by placing MFL in the core curriculum'.

SUMMARY

MFL Governance: Vision and Policy:

- Documentary evidence and respondents' views suggest that there has neither been a consistent national vision for MFLs nor a consistent governance/development strategy.
- No vision (or programme of action) accompanied Comprehensivisation and the consequent rapid increase in the MFL learner body in the 1960s and 1970s.
- Michael Forsyth (alone, it appears) demonstrated a clear vision, 'Languages for All', for MFLs as part of the process of EU entry.
- The period from 1996 to 2011 was one of political flux and rapid change in which only one clear vision (CoaMW, 1999) appeared but was sidelined, apparently by a combination of civil service hesitancy, authority and modification and/or rejection of the national scheme and lack of ministerial interest/support.
- The new '1+2' scheme demonstrates a second clear vision for MFLs but its implementation has already been hampered by issues similar to those noted above.

MFL Governance: Curricular Status:

- The compulsory years of MFL learning have fluctuated from 2 years to 10 years, with shorter durations being more common (but not consistently so).
- Only twice (1987-1992; 2012-date) have MFLs been strongly promoted by ministers within the overall curriculum. Before 1987, MFLs had been an elite choice and then had become compulsory in S1-S4. From 1993-2011, a token continuation of the 1987-1992 system continued but was increasingly ignored

Issues included:

- There appears to have been a gap between intermittent political rhetoric regarding the importance of MFLs and the curricular policies within which schools and authorities operate.
- Respondents' views generally suggest that authorities have not promoted MFLs since the Forsyth era.
- Respondents' views generally suggest that a majority of headteachers has quietly rejected MFLs (after and, in some cases, during the S1-S3 phase of CfE) since the repeal of national curriculum guidelines and the appearance of Circular 3/2001.

6.2 Strategic MFL development 'waves':

> … there are periodic political initiatives to improve or develop Language capability quite often caused by media exposure and based on the premise that the economic future of the country depends on improved language skills. Whether this is true or not is debatable, however. Bursts of enthusiasm for curricular initiatives in MFLs tend to follow from this.
>
> (M0016).

6.2.1 Major Initiatives Impacting on MFLs in Scottish Schools

Early in my cycle of questionnaires and interviews it became clear that few respondents (including some with specific MFL responsibilities) were certain of the order in which actions and events had occurred. Since searches uncovered no timelines of key political, educational and qualifications-related, I developed two timelines to inform this thesis and to offer a factual basis for respondents' deliberations. The first derives from that part of the literature review which generated Table 2.3, incorporating the results of further documentary analysis integrated with the testimonies of respondents. Using these findings, I identified twenty-one significant pan-curricular and MFL-specific initiatives - proposed or implemented - intended to improve MFL teaching and learning.

In Table 6.2 the twenty-one initiatives are grouped into sets of related initiatives forming ten waves of Scottish MFL development. Of the twenty-one initiatives, fifteen are pan-curricular initiatives (although two of these contained specific MFL aspects in the main report) and six are MFL-specific. Of the

latter group, four of the six have had close English parallels, whereas only four of the fifteen broader initiatives had some parallel in England & Wales. Significantly, of the twenty-one initiatives, five - the Ruthven Report, the 10-14 Report, the Howie report, the Citizens of a Multilingual World Report and the Curriculum Flexibility initiative (and it remains to be seen whether a sixth, '1+2', will be fully implemented) - have been completely or largely abandoned.

Table 6.2 The (actual and intended) Major MFL Development Waves in Scotland (1962 – 2012):

No.	Major Development Wave	Dates	MFL/ General
1.	a. Introduction of discrete O Grades and Highers b. Associated curricular review	1959 – 1974 – (1992)	General General/MFL
2.	a. Secondary MFL improvement initiative 1: 'drill & practice' b. First MLPS (Modern Languages in Primary Schools) initiative (French only) c. Primary Memorandum d. CCC Curriculum Paper 2: the Ruthven report (*)	1964 – 77 1964 – 74 1965 ➔ 1967	MFL MFL General/MFL General
3.	a. 'Comprehensivisation' b. ROSLA2 (to age sixteen)	1964 – 1966 – 1975	General General
4.	Secondary MFL improvement initiative 2: 'spoken, relevant language' (includes the development and introduction of 'Tour de France' & parallel German materials)	1978 - 1985	MFL
5.	The Forsyth Initiatives: a. Standard Grade (1974 - 1988 – 2013) b. The 10-14 report (†) c. The 5-14 Initiative (1987 – 2010) d. Second MLPS initiative (1989 ->)	(1974 -) 1987 ➔	 General General MFL
6.	a. Howie Report (*) b. Higher Still c. Original National Qualifications initiative	1992 1992 – 2015 1999 - 2015	General General General
7.	Citizens of a Multilingual World (CoaMW) (*)	1998 - 2002	MFL
8.	Curriculum Flexibility (*)	2000-04	General
9.	a. Curriculum for Excellence b. 'New' National Qualifications initiative	2003 ➔ 2003 – 2014 ➔	General General
10.	The '1+2' Initiative	2012 ➔	MFL
N.B. Initiatives marked (*) were not fully implemented. The 10-14 Report (†) was not a Forsyth initiative but was cancelled and replaced by a Forsyth Initiative, 5-14.			

As more clearly seen in Table 6.3, there are significant temporal overlaps among the twenty-one initiatives, particularly in the second half of the timescale, with as many as six different initiatives simultaneously in various stages of development and implementation at the same time. The worst set of overlaps (around 2000) might have been more pronounced had CoaMW developed fully. These ten waves are used to structure my analysis of the governance of MFLs and its effectiveness in the remainder of this study. For each wave and its embedded initiatives, the then-current state of governance agency and structure, the impacts of vision and policy, as well as specific political and educational governance inputs, will be considered. The elements of governance for that initiative will also be examined and linkages to previous and subsequent initiatives sought. Finally, the outcomes, as determined by research, evaluation and attainment, will be examined.

6.2.2 The Politico-Educational Governance of MFLs

The second timeline (Table 6.3) provides an overview of the politico-educational governance of MFLs in Scotland, offering a decade-by-decade picture of the timescales of key political, educational, qualifications, research and evaluative actions and how they interrelated. Table 6.3 provides a first holistic view of the influences and pressures on the governance of aspects (and, in some respects, the whole) of school-based education in Scotland. These tables are also used later as part of my analysis of issues and attainment trends.

A strategic timeline

To assist examination of related actions, events and outcomes, Table 6.3 is broken into 6 decades of MFL development, with Decade 1 starting in 1962. Each decade contains three strips, delineated by thicker lines, illustrating political responsibilities and changes, educational events and activities and key attainment indicators. The political strip illustrates changing patterns of national government (UK to 1999, devolved thereafter), the principal education ministers in post each year and the changing structure of local government. Educationally, key documents, curricular initiatives, research papers and evaluation reports are identified. The qualifications strip identifies governance and structural changes, as well as MFL uptake and attainment at SCQF Levels 3-5, 6 and 7. The date header strip is also coloured from white (little pressure) to red (severe pressure) to demonstrate the extent of systemic pressure on governance actors.

Table 6.3 Key Phases of Modern Foreign Language Development in Scotland from 1962 to 2012: Politico-Educational Timeline

[Table 6.3: Decade 1: 1962 to 1971]

Decade 1: 1962 to 1971

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Ruling Party/ies	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative . then . Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour, then Conservative	Conservative
Education Minister(s)	Baroness Tweedsmuir	Baroness Tweedsmuir	Tweedsmuir Judith Hart	Judith Hart	Judith Hart Bruce Millan	Bruce Millan	Bruce Millan	Bruce Millan	Bruce Millan Teddy Taylor	Teddy Taylor
Local Gov	-> -> County Councils control education									
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 1	Wave 1 Wave 2	Wave 1 Wave 2	Wave 1 Wave 2	Wave 1 Wave 2	Wave 1 Waves 2, 3	Wave 1 Waves 2, 3	Wave 1 Waves 2, 3	Wave 1 Waves 2, 3	Wave 1 Waves 2, 3
Major curricular initiative	MLPS1 development phase	===→	Start of MLPS1 (French only)	Comprehen-sivisation ->	begins across ->	Scottish schools	===→	===→	===→	===→
Key Reports	← Sec. Ed. Report; **Circs. 312, 412**†: Curric. of Sen. Sec. Sc.	Brunton Report: *From School to Further Education.*	Circular 562: Preparation for ROSLA	The Primary Memorandum. Cir.600:Reorg Of Sec. Edn. On Compr've. Lines	Circular 614: Organisation of Comprehensi ve Schools	CCC Curr Paper 2:The Ruthven Report (not fully implemented)		↔		
Key HMI/ Research report								**French in Primary Sch.: HMI**		
Assess'nt initiatives	Discrete O,H Grade devt.	===→	===→	First O, H Grade exams	===→	===→	First CSYS exams			
SEB/SQA Devts.	HMI control exams	SCEEB * Reg'ns, 1963	SCEEB now	the exam body						
S4 trends (Enrol/Attain)	No remaining summary data preserved from period when HMI controlled examinations. [Individual pupil data in National Archives of Scotland.]			11% of total	10.7%	11.0%	10.5%	10.2%	10.2%	9.9%
				8.4% of tot.	8.1%	8.3%	7.9%	7.7%	7.3%	7.2%
Higher E trends A				16.1% of tot.	16.3%	16.4%	15.8%	**14.4%**	**13.3%**	12.8%
				13.8% of tot.	13.0%	12.8%	11.9%	**10.9%**	**9.9%**	9.4%
CSYS/AH trends E/A				CSYS not yet introduced. CSYS French from 1968, other MFLs from 1969.			27.3% of tot.	**25.8%**	**16.9%**	**12.7%**
							21.2% of tot.	**19.1%**	**12.1%**	**9.4%**

* SCEEB: Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board; Sec. Ed. Report: Secondary Education – A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (HMSO, 1947); † Circular 312: Individual qualifications: working party to develop format (1955) -> Circular 412: Curriculum of the Senior Secondary School [O Grades] (1959).

Table 6.3 (continued): Decade 2: 1972 to 1981

Decade 2: 1972 to 1981

Year	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Ruling Party/ies	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative, then Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour, then Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Education Minister(s)	T. Taylor / H. Monro	Hector Monro	H. Monro / R. Hughes	R. Hughes / F. McElhone	Frank McElhone	Frank McElhone	Frank McElhone	F. McElhone / A. Fletcher	Alex Fletcher	Alex Fletcher
Local Gov			Counties end	Regions begin						
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 1 Wave 2 Wave 3	Wave 1 Wave 2 Wave 3	Wave 1 Wave 2 (Wave 5a)	Wave 2 Wave 3 (Wave 5a)	Wave 2 (Wave 5a)	Wave 2 (Wave 5a)	(Wave 5a)	Wave 4 (Wave 5a)	Wave 4 (Wave 5a)	Wave 4 (Wave 5a)
Major curricular initiative	====➔	====➔	End of period of	Comprehen-sivisation	End of MLPS1 (at different times in different EAs/ schools)					
Key Reports	ROSLA*	Local Govt. Act, 1973	Munn, etc. committees established	====➔		**Munn & Dunning** reports publ.	====➔	====➔	====➔	====➔
Key HMI/ Research report	SCCML†: Place & Aims of MFL in Sec.									
Assess'nt initiatives										
SEB/SQA Devts.										
S4 trends (enroll/attain)	10.1% 6.9%	10.1% 6.8%	9.0% 5.9%	8.9% 5.5%	8.5% 5.4%	8.2% 5.1%	8.2% 5.3%	8.1% 5.5%	8.0% 5.5%	7.9% 5.5%
Higher E trends A	12.0% **8.4%**	11.7% 8.0%	11.6% 7.4%	11.1% 7.2%	10.4% 6.8%	9.7% 6.6%	9.3% 6.4%	8.9% 6.3%	8.9% 6.3%	8.3% 5.9%
CSYS/AH trends E/A	12.7% 9.3%	**11.3%** 4.6%	12.7% 9.2%	12.5% 9.3%	12.5% 9.3%	**11.2%** 8.4%	10.8% 8.7%	12.1% 9.5%	**11.0%** 8.6%	10.7% 8.3%

* ROSLA: Raising of the School Leaving Age (HMSO, 1972); † Scottish Central Committee on Modern Languages.

Decade 3: 1982 to 1991

Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Ruling Party/ies	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Education Minister(s)	Alex Fletcher	A. Fletcher / A. Stewart	Allan Stewart	Allan Stewart	A. Stewart / J. MacKay	J. MacKay / M. Forsyth	Michael Forsyth	M. Forsyth / I. Lang	I. Lang / M. Forsyth	Michael Forsyth
Local Gov										
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 4 Wave 5a	Wave 4 Wave 5a	Wave 4 Wave 5a	Wave 4 Wave 5a	Wave 4 Wave 5a	Wave 4 Wave 5a,b	Wave 4 Wave 5a,b	Wave 4 Wave 5a,b,c	Wave 4 Wave 5a,b,c	Wave 5a,b,c
Major curricular initiative	====→	====→	====→	====→	====→	5-14 in preparation ====→	MLPS2 appears; First S Gr MFL in S3.	3 MLPS2 pilots begin		MLPS2 pilot model rejected
Key Reports	**Framework for Decision (S Grade)**			CCC: MFL in Secondary Schools	CCC: Education 10-14 in Scotland	**Curr. & Asst. for the 90s;** S Gr Arrang'ts for MFL		CCC: MFL in Primary Sch.; Circ. 1178, 1187: MLPS, Secy.	CCC: Secy. Curriculum Guidelines for Sen. Managers	5-14 Eng., Maths, Asst docs. appear
Key HMI/ Research report			**Teaching MFL in Prim.: SCILT**	**SCCML:** Secy. MFL Diversific-ation			HMI: Effective Secondary Schools	HMI: Effective Primary Schools	**HMI: ELT in MFL†**	
Assess'nt initiatives							Last full O Grade exams	1st S Gr. Fr.	All MFL S Grade exams	
SEB/SQA Devts.										
S4 trends (enroll/attain)	7.7% / 5.3%	7.6% / 5.3%	7.5% / 5.2%	7.5% / 5.2%	6.9% / 4.7%	6.6% / 4.6%	6.2% / 4.4%	6.5% / 4.3%	7.4% / **3.3%**	8.2% / 3.3%
Higher trends E / A	8.1% / 5.7%	7.7% / 5.3%	7.5% / 5.2%	7.0% / 4.9%	6.7% / 4.6%	6.1% / 4.3%	5.8% / 4.1%	5.8% / 4.2%	6.3% / 4.4%	6.5% / 4.6%
CSYS/AH trends E/A	**9.1%** / **7.3%**	8.8% / 7.1%	8.5% / 7.0%	8.0% / 6.6%	7.9% / 6.8%	7.1% / 6.1%	6.3% / 5.5%	6-9% / 5.9%	7.9% / 6.6%	7.7% / 6.6%

† ELT in MFL: HMI Report on Effective Learning and Teaching in Modern Languages (1990).

Table 6.3 (continued): Decade 4: 1992 to 2001

Decade 4: 1992 to 2001

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Ruling Party/ies	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative then Labour	Labour	Labour, then devolved Lab. / Lib.	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. coalition
Education Minister(s)	M. Forsyth .D.-Hamilton	J. Douglas-Hamilton	J. Douglas-Hamilton	D.-Hamilton R. Robertson	Raymond Robertson	R. Robertson B. Wilson	B. Wilson H. Liddell	H. Liddell S. Galbraith	S. Galbraith J. McConnell	J. McConnell C. Jamieson
Local Gov				Regions end	Unitary Authorities begin; subject advisers dwindle rapidly					
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6, 7	Wave 5a,b,c Wave 6,7	Wave 5a,b,c Waves 6,7,8	Waves 6,7,8
Major curricular initiative	Controversy re MLPS CPD	5-14 MFL v1 begins; MLPS CPD begins	MLPS2: first cohort begins	MLPS Issues including: staffing ->	shortages , resource and ->	governance issues (HMI)	➔ ➘	Curr. Flex. Begun; First S3 NQ MFL	Revised 5-14 MFL begun in schools	Circular 3/2001 published
Key Reports	**H. Still: Opportunity for All**	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	➘	**CoaMW†** – MAG set up	**CoaMW** Rev. 5-14 Curr., MFL	**ScotExec: CoaMW response**
Key HMI/ Research report						HMI: Achieving Success in S1/2	**HMI: St. & Qual – MFL: Pr., Sec.**	**SCILT: FLUSS***	QCA report: Pr. MFL; **SCILT: MLPS pilot**	Scot. Exec.: draft Language strategy
Assess'nt initiatives	Last O Gr. Nor, Por, Sw		S4 exams all now S Grade						First I2, H presentations S Gr. Urdu begins	First Access, AH exams
SEB/SQA Devts.					SEB to merge with SCOTVEC	SEB ends SQA begins			**LTS** **Merger; SQA crisis**	
S4 trends (enroll/attain)	10.2% 3.6%	11.7% 3.9%	13.0% 3.9%	13.2% 4.2%	13.2% 4.3%	13.2% 4.5%	13.0% 4.8%	12.9% 4.8%	12.1% 4.8%	11.4% 4.8%
Higher trends E A	6.0% 4.3%	6.1% 4.3%	5.7% 4.1%	5.2% 4.1%	5.1% 3.9%	4.8% 3.8%	4.8% 3.9%	4.5% 3.7%	4.5% 3.9%	5.1% 4.3%
CSYS/AH trends E/A	6.8% 6.0%	6.3% 5.5%	6.0% 5.2%	5.8% 5.2%	6.3% 5.5%	**5.1%** 4.7%	4.6% 4.2%	5.5% 4.8%	5.0% 4.4%	6.0% 5.1%

* FLUSS: Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School (SCILT, 1999); † CoaMW: Citizens of a Multilingual World (MAG, 2000).

Decade 5: 2002 to 2011

Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Ruling Party/ies	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. coalition	Lab./Lib. SNP min.	SNP minority	SNP minority	SNP minority	SNP min. SNP
Education Minister(s)	Cathy Jamieson	C. Jamieson P. Peacock	Peter Peacock	Peter Peacock	P. Peacock H. Henry	H. Henry F. Hyslop	Fiona Hyslop	F. Hyslop M. Russell	Michael Russell	Michael Russell
Local Gov							EA Languages QIOs also begin to disappear.			
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 6, 8	Waves 8,9	Waves 8,9	Wave 9	Wave 9	Wave 9	Wave 9	Wave 9	Wave 9	Wave 9
Major curricular initiative	National Debate on Education	Curric. for Excellence (CfE) begins	Curr. Flex. Superseded =====➔	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	=====➔	First CfE cohort begins	=====➔
Key Reports			**'A Curr. for Excellence'** published				**BtC3** and **Es and Os** published			
Key HMI/ Research report				HMI: Progress with CoaMW (+ Dec update)	HMI: Improving Scot. Edn. 1; Eurobaro-meter 243	HMI: MFL – current practice			HMI: Improving Scot. Edn. 2; MFL Excell-ence Report..	SCILT: Pr., Sec. MFL surveys
Assess'nt initiatives						Int/H ESOL+ begins	Int. Chinese begins	H/AH Chinese begins		
	S MFL rev'd						H Gr. Urdu begins.			
SEB/SQA Devts.										
S4 trends (enroll/attain)	11.0%	11.2%	10.7%	10.4%	10.2%	9.6%	9.5%	9.0%	9.0%	8.4%
	4.7%	5.2%	4.4%	4.2%	4.2%	3.9%	3.9%	3.9%	4.0%	3.8%
Higher E trends A	5.1%	5.0%	4.8%	4.8%	4.5%	4.8%	5.0%	4.8%	4.7%	4.5%
	4.3%	4.1%	3.9%	4.0%	3.7%	4.1%	4.3%	4.1%	4.0%	3.9%
CSYS/AH trends E/A	6.2%	6.6%	6.7%	5.9%	5.9%	5.5%	6.2%	5.6%	5.6%	5.4%
	5.0%	5.0%	5.5%	4.6%	4.6%	4.2%	4.8%	4.6%	4.5%	4.4%

+ ESOL: English for Speakers of Other Languages.

Table 6.3 (continued): Decade 6: 2012 onwards

Decade 6: 2012 onwards

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Ruling Party/ies	SNP	SNP	SNP							
Education Minister(s)	Michael Russell	Michael Russell								
Local Gov	Some inter-EA education service mergers; Growing budgetary pressure on EAs.									
MFL Dev. Wave	Wave 9 Wave 10	Wave 9 Wave 10	Wave 9 Wave 10	Wave 9 Wave 10	Wave 9 Wave 10	Wave 10 + ?	Wave 10 + ?	Wave 10 + ?	Wave 10 + ?	Wave 10 + ?
Major curricular initiative	====→ 1+2 begins	====→ 1+2 pilots begin in Aug	CfE first exams	====→	CfE 1st cohort ends					
Key Reports	**1+2 Report**	1+2 details emerge; 1st pilots	Pilot work continues							
Key HMI/ Research report										
Assess'nt initiatives			Last Int.1 and Int.2 exams in 2014; last 'old Highers' in 2015							
		Last S Grade exams	New NQs begin with National 4 and National 5 exams in June 2014, 'new' H in 2015.							
SEB/SQA Devts.			SQA continues							
S4 trends (enroll/attain)	8.1%	8.0%	???							
	3.5%	3.8%	???							
Higher trends E	4.7%	4.5%								
Higher trends A	3.9%	3.7%								
CSYS/AH trends E/A	4.9%	4.9%								
	4.2%	4.3%								

??? because of potential fall in uptake and thus attainment in schools offering only 6 courses in S4.

The MFL-related Initiatives

Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show how political, educational, evaluative and assessment initiatives have interacted. These initiatives are analysed here by decade, although some carry over into successive decades.

DECADE 1 (1962 – 1971): Development Waves 1 and 2.

Given the accelerating pace of Scottish educational change from 1987 and again from 1996, the years of consensus might seem a more sedate era. This, however, was not the case - educationally or politically - in the first decade. The appearance of Ordinary Grades in 1962 released pressure for greater access to qualifications, MFLs appeared in primary schools and Circulars 600 and 614, driven through by the Labour Secretary of State for Scotland, Willie Ross, moved Scotland's secondary schools towards comprehensive status. Many councils delayed comprehensivisation until the last possible date and so the implications of this move and its interaction with ROSLA2 (also begun in this decade with the exploratory Circular 562) are considered in examining Development Wave 3 in Decade 2.

Wave 1

The 1959 Report (SED, 1959a) and Circular 424 (SED, 1959b) led to the replacement of Lower Leaving Certificates by Ordinary Grades, providing both a beginning and an end, as the appearance of O Grades completed a process begun in 1950 with the abolition of the Group Leaving Certificate: thereafter,

certificates recorded candidates' individual subject results. Philip (1992, p.110) indicates that this more than doubled the uptake across all subjects from 8,444 candidates in 1949 to 18,562 in 1961. The establishment of the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board, described (Paterson, 2003, p.133) as a 'semi-independent body', proved to be good governance as Paterson (2003, p.133) indicates that the exam intended for the most able 30% of the population - little advance over the 'bookish minority' (SED, 1947, p. 21) of the 1947 Report - saw 78.8% of S4 pupils presented for one or more O Grades by 1974 (Wilson, 1975, p.31).

Table 6.4 Early Trends in O Grade Presentations and Qualifications

Year	Candidates in all Subjects	Overall Subject Presentations	No. of Qualifications Available		
			Lower/O	Higher	CSYS
1961	18,562	88,700	20	23	-
1962	42,300	218,700	37	35	-
…….	**…….**	**…….**	**…….**	**…….**	
1974	125,168	544,442	45	42	18

[Adapted from Wilson, 1975, p.31 and Philip, 1992, p.110]

SQA data shows that MFL uptake and attainment also rose during this period. However, while overall candidate numbers continued to rise until the early 1980s, MFL O Grade candidates peaked at 36,052 in 1975 and Higher and CSYS candidates at 17,605 and 1,456 respectively in 1974 (see Appendices 15 and 16). Despite overall candidate numbers trebling from 1962 to 1974

and overall presentations more than doubling, MFL presentations barely increased by 50%. Accordingly, MFL candidates fell from 11.0% of O grade and 16.1% of Higher candidates in 1965 to 8.9% and 11.1% respectively in 1974, an overall decrease in 'market share' of around 25%. CSYS, which had begun in 1968, did not extend to a reasonable range of languages until 1975 and is thus not considered here (but see Section 6.4)

Two factors appear to have driven this rapid erosion of the position of MFLs. The first comes from the second initiative of this wave, the 1959 Report, which omitted MFLs from its considerations except as an additional subject for some pupils and failed to offer any guidance on MFLs in the section on Planning of Certificate Courses (SED, 1959, pp.18-27) while stressing to headteachers the importance of English, aesthetic subjects, social subjects and science (or homecraft and commercial for the less able). This would not have been taken by heads as a signal to encourage MFL uptake. The second reason revolves around the rapid expansion of courses within the Ordinary Grade and Higher Grade catalogues and the appearance of CSYS in 1968. In 1961, 20 Lower subjects and 23 Higher subjects existed, but by 1962 there were 37 O Grades and 35 Highers and, by 1974, this had grown to 45 O Grades and 42 Higher subjects with a further 18 CSYSs added for S6 pupils who previously might have taken additional Highers in S6. Although some post-1962 additions were 'minority subjects' and were therefore unlikely to cause major reductions in MFL uptake, greater choice inevitably implies decreasing numbers in some subjects. The combination of these initiatives began - partly deliberately (the

1959 Report) and partly due to market forces (in the widening pool of courses and qualifications) – a process of decline in MFL uptake and attainment which has, despite one near-decade of growth, continued to the present time.

These events largely occurred in senior secondary schools: pupils in junior secondaries pursuing 3-year courses were unlikely to encounter MFLs and highly unlikely to enter, or finish, a certificate course in a language other than English. Paterson (2003, p.134) quotes MacPherson's 1958 survey which found that only 8% of boys and 15% of girls in junior secondaries were studying any MFL and only 129 of 556 junior secondary schools were offering one or more academic courses.

Wave 2

The Wave 1 initiatives only provide part of the explanation for this initial period of MFL decline. Wave 2, comprising four partially contradictory initiatives (a theme which will recur), overlapping with Wave 1 (again a common scenario), provides further insight. Two initiatives were primary-based, innovative and linked closely to the English Plowden Report (DES, 1967). The other two were secondary-based, with the MFL-specific development of teaching materials and methodology anything but innovative.

The first primary MFL initiative was a bold and innovative experiment and, unusually, was part of a wider European movement to introduce MFL learning to early primary pupils. As the Plowden report indicated:

> Whether it was possible to teach a second language to all or most children was unknown, and the [previous] scattered experiments (if they deserved the word) … threw no light on the problem.
>
> (DES, 1967, p.223).

The English programme, 'French from Eight', was supported by the Nuffield Foundation, providing significant funding and a level of teacher training superior to either its contemporaneous Scottish equivalent or the later MLPS scheme. Whereas the best training provision achieved in any Scottish MLPS initiative in primary is a 27-day course, this early English development offered a two-year programme, including three months' residence in France. Scottish trainees survived on acquired Nuffield materials and a *much* less substantial training experience. However, both programmes experienced issues which would recur as concerns arose on both sides of the border around embedding MFL competences into Initial Teacher Education for primary teachers, ensuring an adequate supply of MFL-trained primary teachers, timetabling MFLs into the primary curriculum, lack of consultation with and by secondary schools and headteacher leadership and management (e.g. DES, 1967, p.225; HMI, 1969; SED, 1965, pp.204-209). Likewise, diversity of language provision, although an objective, seemed unachievable as:

> the number of primary teachers who know any other language well enough to teach it is minimal and French is the 'safest' language from the point of view of transfer to a secondary school.
>
> (DES, 1967, p.224).

The combination of these factors resulted in what Johnstone *et al.* (2000, p.8) describe as a 'less than successful' Scottish development, with HMI (1969) indicating that their 325-class survey found no evidence that the 'drill and practice' learning offered benefits to 'any pupil' involved in the scheme - an unusually forceful summation from an HMI report. Consequently, MFLs disappeared from Scottish primary schools by the mid-1970s. Sadly, its better-supported English equivalent's methodology was also condemned by the Burstall report (NFER, 1974) and primary MFLs also disappeared from English schools. The Munn report (SED, 1977) confirmed that the Scottish start point for MFL learning had been moved back to S1. In considering the governance of this initiative, no evidence has been found of attempts to effectively plan for training, resourcing or pedagogy and thus to retain and/or improve primary languages. An examination of the elements of governance from Chapter 5 suggests that there is little or no evidence of effective governance in 11 of the 12 contexts. Evaluation *was* carried out well but did not result in appropriate amendment: the initiative was simply declared a failure and education moved on.

The Primary Memorandum, *Primary Education in Scotland* (SED, 1965), pre-dated Plowden but arose from the same UK debate on child-centred education, evincing a coherent vision for a primary curriculum designed to accommodate the needs and interests of children from diverse backgrounds and with widely varying abilities and educational needs. Both reports became enmired in what Shuayb and O'Donnell (2008, p.2) call 'the escalating debate

between advocates of child-centeredness and those on the side of educational conservatism'. Opposition was much more vocal in England and centred around the five Black Papers of which the first two (Cox & Dyson, 1969; Cox, 1971) were most influential. Brian Cox and Anthony Dyson led a campaign which was characterised by its opponents as right-wing (and eventually became so with the addition of figures such as Dr Rhodes Boyson) and which contested aspects of educational expansionism, 'child-centred education' and comprehensivisation. Much of the debate became politicised and personalised: the Labour Education Secretary, Edward Short, described the publication of the Black Paper as 'one of the blackest days for education this century', whereas the third Black Paper was entitled *Goodbye, Mr Short*.

Sustained opposition notwithstanding, the import of the Memorandum and of the Plowden Report was a move to learning by understanding (rather than retention of facts), to active, experiential learning and more open and involving pedagogy, to (some) freedom of expression and less formal classroom organisation and to a thematic curricular structure which included both 'Language' and MFLs. Unfortunately, the Memorandum appeared too soon after the primary MFL campaign was launched, causing its modest Modern Languages section (SED, 1965, pp. 202-209) to offer little advice on starting age or time allocation: 'if the course lasts several years …' (1965, p.208), little advice on methodology and only regret at the 'vicious circle' (1965, p.205) of French domination.

The Wave 2 secondary initiatives were somewhat removed from the transformative approach of the Primary Memorandum. The secondary 'drill and practice' initiative reflected the elitist, Classical approach to MFLs, embodying grammar, translation and literature. With almost all S1-S2 pupils and most S3-S4 pupils now learning an MFL, governance actors and teachers alike should have adapted to this new, wider clientele. Unfortunately, national/council agency was exerted in two ways: firstly, in a parallel move with England and Wales, to encourage teachers to convey spoken language through repeated language drills and secondly to ameliorate pupils' reactions to this through the use of educational technology e.g. language labs, audio-lingual courses (Johnstone, 1999, p.564). These approaches were based on a behaviourist approach to language learning that, due to Chomsky's work (e.g. 1956, 1959, 1965), was internationally being discarded by most educationalists. Although this first of two rapid expansions of the MFL cohort embraced a much wider social grouping (including pupils much less committed to MFLs and pupils from very deprived backgrounds), the related teaching materials unfortunately featured a stable, white, middle-class family living in a large detached house with two well-motivated children – a situation neither relevant to many of the new pupil cohort nor necessarily symptomatic of the foreign culture being studied (Johnstone, 1999, p.564). This situation would worsen in Wave 3 as pupil cohorts widened further but, even at this point, growing numbers of pupils disengaged from both the pedagogical approach and the materials available to them. Johnstone (*ibid.*, p.565) quotes Mitchell *et al.*'s (1981) report of an SED-funded research project which found

that in S1 over 98% of the French spoken in sampled schools was ‘repetition’ and less than 2% ‘real communication’, which helps explain why many pupils did not pursue MFLs beyond S2 or S4.

The other secondary initiative of this wave came in 1967 with the publication of the Ruthven report, *Curriculum Paper 2: Organisation of Courses Leading to the Scottish Certificate of Education (SED, 1967),* by the new Consultative Committee on the Curriculum. Ruthven represents another recurrent theme as this was the third (but, again, not the last) post-war instance of a major curricular report failing to effect change as, despite its then-prominent chairman, Baillie T. Ruthven, the report is remembered by researchers, if at all, as formalising the secondary curriculum into three 2-year sections. It followed the pattern set by the 1947 Advisory Council Report and the 1963 Brunton Report on Vocational Education, demonstrating that, however powerful or well-placed the individual chairman (John S. Brunton was HMSCI at the zenith of Inspectorial authority), there was no guarantee that the First Triumvirate would accept or implement curricular proposals (even if well-argued), whether timeously or at all. Not for the last time, an opportunity for curricular improvement was lost and would not be re-visited for a decade or acted on for a further decade.

Thus, at the end of Decade 1 Scotland had an underdeveloped primary MFL programme, largely unlinked to emerging, innovative primary pedagogy, accompanied by a secondary MFL programme using outmoded methodology

and resources ill-suited to a growing and changing secondary cohort. Ruthven's failure to achieve curricular improvement in the light of these changes, alongside an apparent lack of awareness (no direct reference to this decline in MFL uptake and attainment appeared in any source accessed for this thesis) of the diminishing position of MFLs, compounded the difficulties. In both waves, initiatives appear to have originated - partially from England and partially from the First Triumvirate - without attempts to see the potential connections among them or to amend programmes in the light of experience. Clarence's view of a later set of initiatives (see commentary on Figure 4.7) - that a group of overly ambitious programmes had been launched without adequate planning or thought of 'safety nets' (Clarence, 2002, p.798) – also appears to apply in this context. Although the lack of vision, effective implementation or integration lay with national officials, the 'backroom' role of politicians at this time does not diminish their responsibility.

DECADE 2 (1972 – 1981): Development Waves 3 and 4.

As Chapter 4 demonstrated, Decade 2 saw significant change in local government with the Local Government (Scotland) Act (UK Government, 1973) leading to Regional and Island Councils and the development of (some) strong education directorates and advisory services. The national democratisation debates of the 1940s to 1960s finally caused major changes in secondary education with councils completing comprehensivisation by 1974 or 1975 and with the further raising of the school leaving age to 16, ROSLA2 (HMSO, 1972), occurring in the same period. Alongside these fundamental

changes to Scottish education, a further MFL development wave attempted to address the pedagogical and resourcing issues caused by Wave 3 in the 1960s. On a larger scale, two CCC sub-committees were established to address the urgent need for curricular reform (left uncompleted by the 1947, 1959 and 1967 Reports) and to re-examine qualifications in the light of O Grade experience, particularly with respect to average and less-able pupils. Although these committees, chaired by James Munn and Joseph Dunning, reported in 1977, the issues raised by them are not analysed until Wave 5 in Decade 3 when political and educational governance actors finally began to address their findings. Again, political and civil service delays impeded progress.

Wave 3

Woodin, McCulloch and Cowan (2012, pp.362-363) suggest that, although the joint impact of ROSLA and comprehensivisation gave: 'rise to heated debate among educationists and politicians, more reflective historical contributions on the longer term significance of the issue have been notably absent'. The joint impact of these two initiatives has not been explored in any research with relevance to MFLs but they were of significant import for MFLs as the resulting wider clientele did not take well to the methods and resources *in situ* and many teachers found the lower part of the pupil body to be challenging and unresponsive.

Comprehensivisation

Scottish authorities had strong attachments to their local senior secondary schools (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.367) and saw comprehensivisation as largely an English imposition (Paterson, 2003, pp.136-137), although this was counterbalanced by political and public support for increased access to senior secondaries, reduction of social segregation and widening of certification and antipathy towards selection based on arithmetical analysis of primary performance, such as that of McClelland (1942). The arrival of a UK Labour government in 1964 generated Circulars 600 and 614 on comprehensivisation and reorganisation of secondary schools respectively. Although not the subject of a UK or Scottish party-political debate, comprehensivisation signalled the beginning of national and local political involvement in educational governance, presaging both Callaghan's Ruskin College speech (1976) and the Conservatives' entry into direct political governance of education.

Comprehensivisation did not happen quickly or evenly, either across or within authorities e.g. in East Lothian, Knox Academy was comprehensive by 1969 but Musselburgh Grammar did not change until 1972 (Allan & Bonnar, n.d.), thus causing a lengthy development programme. With the associated closure of inadequate junior secondary buildings, schools were faced with increased pupil numbers, including a group who felt they should not be in school. Low teacher numbers and/or poor accommodation exacerbated an already complex situation in many authorities. Poor teaching materials and a lack of

teacher training to address the changed pupil cohort was a somewhat greater problem. As an HMI stated: ’everyone scurried around frantically in a totally alien environment clutching at straws and any half-baked idea that sounded good as a solution to their current problems.’ (as cited in Watt, 1989, p.290).

ROSLA

The two post-war phases of ROSLA (1947, 1976) gained societal and cross-party support but the 1970s ROSLA2 process was resisted on curricular, staffing and accommodation grounds by local authorities and teacher organisations alike. Woodin, McCulloch and Cowan (2013, pp.112-114) summarise the frequently hostile council responses to Circular 562 (SED, 1964) which sought clarity on pupil numbers, the need for increased staffing and accommodation and the means of developing appropriate courses. The eventual estimate was that an extra 52,000 pupils, in addition to the increasing number staying on voluntarily after the statutory leaving age, would require appropriate courses and materials, teachers and classrooms.

A key question in Circular 562 addressed ‘effective and satisfying courses’ for the 15 to 16 year olds who would now remain at school but was not followed through by investment in pedagogy and resources to meet this crucial need of a radically altered pupil population. The Brunton solution of supporting the ‘vocational impulse’ of some pupils had been rejected as a return to the previous bi-partite system (and to possible FE control of many older pupils’

curricula (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.323)) and so 'there was a signal failure on all sides to grasp the essential practical consequences of giving equality of educational opportunity to all children' (Paterson, 2003, p.138). Respondents to this study who were pupils or teachers during the period from 1965 to 1990 reflected similarly on the shortcomings of this time. Thus, despite the evident need for curricular improvement, other issues e.g. accommodation, staffing and political considerations, appear to have cut across moves to focus on improving learning and meeting needs. In the resulting partial vacuum of policy and pedagogy, schools increasingly adopted their own, often imperfect, solutions until the Munn proposals were eventually worked through in the late 1980s. The only notable positive aspect of governance here was an acceptance by central government that funds would have to be provided to meet demands for improved accommodation, particularly given the failure of the Brunton report.

Joint Impact

ROSLA and comprehensivisation were in place in almost all authorities and schools by the mid 1970s: an SED survey of 1972 showed that two-thirds of schools had adopted mixed-ability S1 classes. Although it might seem that change was progressing smoothly, Paterson (2000, p.138) quotes Watt (1991) as indicating that, 'the reform process was not as smooth as these trends might indicate, essentially because the SED had done little to prepare teachers for dealing with the resulting new demands that were placed upon them.' Paterson's own view (2003, pp.138-139) is that the period from the late

1970s to the millennium should be “understood as the gradual working through in practice of the consequences of the ending of selection’ and of the increased pupil cohort in S4 (and later S5/6): for MFLs, this thesis substantiates the words ‘gradual’ and ‘consequences’.

The needs generated by ROSLA and Comprehensivisation were substantial: provision of appropriate leadership, accommodation, teachers, curricula, professional advice, teaching materials and teacher training, as well as improved systems for pupil support, guidance and discipline to cope with a radically-altered clientele. Unfortunately, there were few examples of such improvements and no sustained development campaigns. Planning and resourcing was not ‘joined up’ across the initiatives, with no specific funding available to authorities to support accommodation improvements for comprehensivisation. Bruce Millan, the then minister, indicated that there was money for ROSLA: ‘to cope with the increased S4 numbers and that this could be used, if authorities were to ‘act sensibly’ to ‘make a lot of progress towards … six-year schools simultaneously’ (Millan, as cited in McPherson & Raab, 1988, p.379).

Staffing also caused major disruption to these developments. Despite special recruitment schemes, teacher numbers were low (and critical in the West). This was not resolved until overall pupil population growth ended in the mid/late 1970s. Some categories of teacher, including MFLs, were still in short supply beyond the mid 1970s. Much-needed curricular change to

address *all* pupils' needs was not considered until 1977 (and not implemented until the 1980s). Interim, 'revised' O Grades did not appear until 1980 and the arrival of Standard Grade with courses and qualifications designed for all pupils did not take place until 1987. As Johnstone (1999, p.528) indicates, the 'drill and practice' approach and materials, although wholly inappropriate for the comprehensive/ROSLA era, continued beyond the end of the 1970s, impacting particularly heavily on MFLs where a particularly academic approach was now delivered to recipients of varied ability/interest. Bedevilled by an academic approach, outmoded pedagogy and inappropriate materials, MFLs experienced a 15-year period when these factors were imposed on a changed and frequently unwilling pupil population. The contribution of this to a further decline in MFL uptake and attainment does not require further explanation.

Consideration of contemporary governance provides little evidence of effective research, leadership, resourcing, training or amendment and only limited evidence to support some aspects of consultation, planning, development, management and implementation. Evaluation of the impact of these two initiatives also appears strangely absent, with no significant HMI reports, except the (too-) early ROSLA report (HMI, 1976), to highlight shortcomings. In the MFL context, O Grade course uptake slipped, but only from 10.1% of the cohort in 1971, when the initiatives began to gather pace, to 8.9% (i.e. by around 12% of the 1971 figure) in 1975. However, attainment at O Grade fell from 6.9% in 1971 to 5.5% in 1975 (a 21% fall) and Higher attainment by 1.3%

in the equivalent period (an 11% decline). Again, (UK) political initiatives, (variably) contested by local politicians, education authorities and teachers, appear to have been implemented without connections being made and without consideration of the conditions required for successful implementation or the long-term consequences of failure. Here also, Clarence's comments (2002, p.798) appear to apply.

Wave 4

From the early 1960s, almost all pupils of all abilities learned a MFL in S1/2, although pedagogy and resources were inappropriate to the needs, interests and abilities of many of them. In 1972, the Scottish Central Committee on Modern Languages (still not formally a part of the CCC) set out its views on Modern Language teaching in secondary schools (SCCML: 1972). Informed by international moves to correct earlier primary and secondary mistakes, the committee redefined the aims of MFL teaching in terms of a more practical approach to language use. SED commissioned a national SCCC project, supported by regional initiatives, to use language in realistic contexts – 'real language in real use' - and to engage learners in regularly communicating with each other (as opposed to the earlier 2% 'real communication'). The project also aimed to assist pupils in understanding how language works, to understand about life in other countries, to help pupils learn how to learn and to make connections between MFLs and English language learning. However, the resulting *Tour de France* materials and their German

equivalents were only for S1 and part of S2. Thereafter, teachers reverted to drill and practice to prepare for the O Grade course in S3/4. Unfortunately, the new predominance of spoken language erroneously influenced the development of Standard Grade MFLs. Although governance actors were slow to respond to the apparent issues caused by the changing MFL pupil body, *Tour de France* was based on evaluation of the issues which had arisen, was researched effectively, involved relevant bodies and was relatively well planned and effectively executed, so providing a first example of effective governance since the introduction of O Grade at the beginning of Decade 1. Unfortunately, hindsight shows that this initiative also provides an example of another recurring theme, the 'Law of Unintended Consequences', as *Tour de France*, unless supported by enhancing materials, was effective for the average and less able but failed to 'stretch' able pupils, resulting in lack in interest and motivation among the able and contributing to their rejection of MFLs.

DECADE 3 (1982 – 1991): Development Wave 5.

Decade 3 covers the middle years of two decades of Conservative government. Although this began quietly, with ministers generally pursuing traditional Scottish Conservative approaches and officer-led policy initiatives, there were signs of a step-change in political governance as Alex Fletcher and George Younger steered two Scottish education bills through Westminster in 1980 and 1981 and re-activated Munn and Dunning in 1982. This pace was

to increase again, as previously seen, with the arrival of Michael Forsyth as education minister in 1987.

Wave 5

Like Decade 1, Decade 3 hosted multiple initiatives. Of the four initiatives in wave 5, one was secondary only, two joint primary-secondary ventures and one purely primary; one MFL-specific and three pan-curricular. They were, however, of an unparalleled scale and pace, causing significant, on-going union problems, as did the incoming minister's assumption of control of educational initiatives. The replacement of the professionally-led, broadly supported (pre-Forsyth) 10-14 initiative by the HMI-designed (and evaluated) 5-14 initiative was particularly contentious, particularly with its employment of national testing in the primary and early secondary stages. Forsyth's addition of two further major educational initiatives, 5-14 and Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS), to the imminent Standard Grade was both ambitious and courageous, but (ultimately) brought improvements to Scottish education. However, the three initiatives contributed significantly to the challenges faced by Scottish education until and beyond the millennium and to the specific pressures experienced in MFL teaching during the same period.

S Grade

Labour considered implementing Munn and Dunning, releasing two consultation papers in 1979 (SED, 1979a, 1979b). However, the arrival of a

Conservative government in 1979 brought delay as Alex Fletcher considered how to proceed before issuing a paper, *Framework for Decision* (SED, 1982), which effectively began the development and implementation processes leading to the (eventual) phasing-out of O Grades and implementation of Standard Grade courses from 1987. In an unusual move, the S Grade MFL development teams took cognisance of the previous 'real language' initiative, extending the use of authentic contexts and a spoken emphasis from S1/2 into S3/4. S Grade MFL examinations were first carried out from 1989 to 1990, depending on the subject.

The 'Forsyth factor' appeared at this juncture. SCCC had been cautious in its view of MFLs, adhering to Munn's 'optional in S3/4' line in its publications *Modern Languages in Secondary Schools* (CCC, 1985) and *Languages Other Than English in Primary and Secondary Schools* (SCCC, 1989b). In the latter, SCCC suggested that compulsory S1-S4 languages would not find favour with parents. However, the arrival of Michael Forsyth and the consequent issue of Circular 1178 (see Appendix 13) changed policy in a direct act of political control, although Languages teachers had maintained a 'campaign for languages' (Johnstone, 1999, p.528) during this period. Along with the primary MLPS programme, Forsyth thus changed 'core' MFL teaching in Scotland from a two-year lower secondary programme to a much more ambitious six-year (P6-S4) progression.

Standard Grade ran into difficulties due to the complexity of the triple change (MLPS, 5-14, S Grade) being attempted, the initial 'content-free' specifications and, in MFLs, the challenges of carrying 'real language in real use' into the examinable phase, but also due to disagreements with teachers and the SCCC about the direction of MFL progress. The main issue emerging from this related to the removal of the exam's Writing element. Available sources are not clear why this was done, perhaps to try to articulate with the improved S1/2 course and new revised Higher MFL course which had, for the first time, removed translation as a key skill and attempted to carry some of the 'realistic' aspects forward into the traditional academic domain of the Higher. *Foreign Languages in the Upper Secondary School* (*FLUSS)* (McPake *et al.*, 1999), suggests (p.viii) that this lack of compulsory writing in S Grade was only one of several factors inhibiting improvements in MFL learning, but the S Grade examination was rapidly changed nevertheless. The FLUSS report exposed a dichotomy between the views of teachers and school leaders and those of learners and parents, taking the part of the learner and judging that teachers' concerns about resources, class sizes and mixed ability teaching were less significant than learners' concerns about S3/4 content and the nature of the curriculum. FLUSS also suggested that limited (or poor) advice and support from Guidance teachers, rejection of any but the most able by (some) MFL departments and restrictive school option choice systems all contributed to the significant drop-off from S Grade to Higher. There are indications (e.g. *ibid*., p.vii) that FLUSS was aware of a 20-year (actually 30-year: see Figures 6.1

and 6.2) decline in MFLs. Unfortunately, it was written too soon to assess S Grade against a longer timescale (a problem common to analyses of MFL uptake and attainment before this thesis) and thus could only suggest that 'the downward curve may have levelled off' (*ibid*., p.vii). Figures 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate that S Grade brought initial growth and almost a decade of stable, improved S Grade figures and a brief (4-year) upward turn to Higher and CSYS figures.

Modern Languages in the Primary School (MLPS)

The other immediate effect of Forsyth's Languages For All approach was the reintroduction of primary MFLs, apparently as a direct ministerial initiative (SED, 1989, pp.1-2). This represented a brave (and isolated, as parents, teachers, headteachers, councils, HMI and SCCC had not raised this issue) decision, given the failure of the previous primary initiative, but not a bad one if appropriate pedagogy, resource and teachers were available. Initial steps were positive: twelve national MLPS pilots were established in 1989, operating on the basis of ensuring appropriate primary methodology (the principal failing of the previous MLPS scheme) through the involvement of centrally funded secondary MFL specialists (1 teacher per project) in the pilot primary schools. The pilots were given latitude in developing appropriate approaches and supported by two national development officers and guidelines on content and methodology. Widely seen as a success, the clamour for wider availability caused a Conservative manifesto pledge to extend MLPS to all primary schools. Four respondents to this study who were involved with the pilot

projects all indicated that the cost of replicating the secondary involvement and the lack of available secondary specialists caused significant change to the wider implementation phase, although this was disputed at the time by the project manager, HMI J. Boyes and by Frank Pignatelli who, although a linguist himself, had used a MFL-trained primary teacher to support the Strathclyde pilot, rather than a secondary specialist (probably because of cost and non-availability of secondary specialists). Together, the two caused significant debate by indicating (SCILT, 1993) that the national rollout would be based on trained primary teachers, not on pragmatic grounds but on *educational* grounds as MFL-trained primary specialists would be better placed to teach in the primary context.

The subsequent national training programme for primary MFL teachers has experienced controversy from that moment to the present. The initial training was nationally led and consisted of 27 days' training. The first cohort of 370 (Low, 1999, p.378) trained primary MFL teachers began teaching MFLs in 1994. However, consistent concerns have arisen, not least from Dr. Dan Tierney (an original MLPS national development officer), regarding the nature and duration of the training programme, the variability of teacher provision across authorities and schools, the 'wastage' rate and the effectiveness of leadership, pedagogy and secondary liaison. As Johnstone *et al.* (2000) suggest, 'the generalisation phase was indeed accompanied by a public and often heated debate' (p.8). This continued into decades 4 and 5 and so is considered again in Wave 7 where matters came to a head.

The 5-14 Initiative

The third of Forsyth's initiatives was a radical replacement for the consensus-driven, middle school approach of the 10-14 Report (inherited from his predecessors). Although the ministerial threat in *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: A Policy for the 90s* (SED, 1987) to legislate for compliance with 'proper implementation of national policy' was much commented upon (e.g. Adams, 1999, p. 352), HMI had already prepared the ground in a succession of documents from the mid-1970s onwards, expressing concern about narrowing of the primary curriculum, poor pedagogy, poor primary-secondary liaison and, most ominously, the need for a national approach to monitoring attainment. Despite his ambivalent relations with HMI, Forsyth clearly listened to their professional advice in this context, rather than that of the CCC. It was not surprising, therefore, that HMI took the lead role with respect to 5-14, leading both development and evaluation and generating significant friction with unions and authorities in the process. Forsyth's accountability agenda is generally blamed for the National Testing turmoil accompanying 5-14 but it was HMI which began, and consistently promoted, this concept.

The MFL component of 5-14 provides an example of the recurring governance theme of 'cross-cutting initiatives', as the 5-14 MFL development team had excluded primary MFL from the guidelines despite the parallel MLPS developments. This eventually formed part of the issues raised by HMI in their 1998 report on MFLs and ultimately led to the appearance of revised and

much needed 5-14 MFL guidelines in 2000, eight years after the original guidelines and eleven years after the first MLPS pilot.

Joint Impact

In governance terms, this was a highly complex decade. There are significant signs of individual (Forsyth, Pignatelli) and group leadership and vision (although there were clashes here – between Forsyth and the established order, between HMI and the CCC and between government and unions). Unusually, research, planning, consultation, policy, development work, training, resourcing and management were all evident as the system attempted to cope with 3 major initiatives embracing nursery to S4, with two sets of examination changes (national testing and S Grade) and significant challenge from unions and from educational professionals in a wider sense. Evaluation and amendment were also evident, as the results of the Primary Memorandum were modified by 5-14 and MLPS and as the issues resulting from the inappropriateness of O Grades for a population changed by comprehensivisation and ROSLA were, as Paterson puts it, ‘ worked through’.

In very many ways, this was the most successful decade to date for effective governance. However, the failures to prepare for the mutual impacts of 5-14 and MLPS, or to ensure and maintain an adequate supply of trained MLPS teachers, the ministerial disregard for potential partners in improvement and their views and, lastly, the variability of regional responses to MLPS detract from an otherwise well (and – most unusually – decisively) governed set of

initiatives. Despite many challenges, this decade could be seen as well governed, but not *very* well governed.

DECADE 4 (1992 – 2001): Development Wave 6.

The fourth decade saw the pressure upon the educational governance system move from significant through very significant to a position close to breaking point. The key player in the earlier half, although as Secretary of State rather than as minister for education, was again Michael Forsyth. Again, a major curricular report was rejected and replaced by something more suitable to politico-educational leaders. The Howie report (SOEID, 1992a), intended to complete curricular renewal and resolve lingering vocational education issues by improving the S5/6 curriculum, was rejected and almost immediately replaced by *Higher Still: Opportunity For All* (SOEID, 1992b) in a manner highly reminiscent of the fate of the 10-14 report five years earlier, although not without irony as this time a radical Howie report was replaced by a more consensual Higher Still proposal, as opposed to the opposite process in 1987. Perhaps, given the state of the polls, the Conservative ministerial team was beginning – rather too late – to acknowledge the voice of Scottish civic society.

The second half of the decade was quite different - uniquely so in Scottish educational governance – as, in five years, five ministers from three completely different administrations (UK Tory, UK New Labour and Scottish Lab-Lib coalition) attempted to simultaneously govern four to six major

curricular initiatives (embracing the entire curriculum from nursery to S6 and FE, as well as latterly responding to major criticism of MFL provision) and a further complete reconstruction of the qualifications system, all at different stages of their development. The inevitable (given the degree of challenge and overload) failure of the educational governance system in and around 2000 has already been examined, as has Clarence's verdict (2002, p.798).

Higher Still and National Qualifications (NQs)

Higher Still emerged from behind the Howie proposals as a seemingly safer, more easily assimilated response to coordinating vocational and academic teaching, learning and assessment, as identified by the Brunton report (SED, 1963b) and continued through TVEI, Action Plan, the development of SCOTVEC modular courses and the Howie report. Whether Higher Still seemed the final curricular straw, or whether its modular approach to teaching and (over-) assessment was too alien, it generated a similar degree of union hostility to S Grade. The New Labour response to these concerns on taking office was to provide unparalleled quantities of national resources and teaching materials, coordinated by the Higher Still Development Unit (HSDU) which gained some notoriety for its delivery vans but achieved its targets.

National Qualifications are a further example of the 'Law of Unintended Consequences'. Developed at Access, Intermediate, Higher and Advanced Higher levels to meet the needs of S5, S6 and FE learners, some and then many NQs were rapidly adopted by schools for their S4 pupils, generating an

unplanned dual system of assessment and qualifications in S3/4 which continued for over a decade. In an effort to codify this and bring some order to S3-4, guidelines for schools were nationally developed (by a group led by the author of this study) but this was a governance afterthought. Nevertheless, Higher Still and its associated National Qualifications, derided at the time, are now seen by almost all respondents as having been effective to highly effective.

Qualifications problems came from the joint pressures engendered by continued development of S Grade and parallel running with O Grade from 1989 until 1993, from developing and implementing NQs from 1992 to 2001 (and parallel running with S Grade from 2000) and crucially, as discussed in Chapter 4, from attempting to weld the disjoint cultures of SEB and SCOTVEC together at the same time as a very experienced SEB leader gave way to an inexperienced (in that context) chief inspector as head of the new SQA. The burden of curricular development and implementation also weighed on educational leaders, as many fulfilled simultaneous roles for SQA and national curricular initiatives. In 1999, the year before SQA's *dénouement*, MFL governance actors were simultaneously involved in a) the revision and re-implementation of 5-14 MFLs, b) the remaining development and implementation of S Grades, c) attempted resolution of the development, training and staffing issues of MLPS, d) the phased implementation of Higher Still courses, e) initial teaching and internal assessment for National Qualifications examinations, f) attempted resolution of the MFL crisis

precipitated by the 1998 HMI report on MFLs (through CoaMW which itself generated further issues) and g) the planning and development phases of the Curriculum Flexibility initiative. The governance challenges inherent in the sheer breadth and depth of these multiple major projects is evident without further amplification. That the governance system partially broke down the following session is, in hindsight, unsurprising but raises questions about the evaluative processes being undertaken by several governance layers and sub-layers.

Joint Impact

It is difficult to describe the governance of this decade succinctly. It began and ended with failures of leadership, research, planning, and consultation. Initially this arose from Michael Forsyth (and/or his advisers) placing a further major curricular development process (Howie -> Higher Still) on top of three existing initiatives already attempting wholesale change across the nursery to S4 curriculum. It is understandable that teaching unions reacted to such an unprecedented scale of development and workload. Although well-meant and providing short-term solutions to union troubles, the subsequent New Labour resourcing initiative for Higher Still ultimately failed, with unintended consequences in the form of long-term undermining of teachers' belief in their own right, duty and ability to develop any new curriculum into courses to stimulate and challenge learners. Although resourcing, training, implementation and management took place (and Higher Still is not at the weaker end of curricular initiatives in these contexts), this happened amid a

level of activity (and systemic and individual stress) from which the educational system has not yet fully recovered (see decades 5 and 6). HMI evaluation (HMIe, 1998) of the MFL issues from these developments was, as usual, sound. Although not always their fate, they were heard by a minister (Helen Liddell) who responded by establishing the CoaMW committee. Unfortunately, in the flux generated from 1995 onwards by rapid changes of local government structure and personnel, national government leadership and structure and multiple major curriculum/ qualifications development projects, Liddell moved on, followed by two others before the CoaMW report appeared. Strangely, given the background of uncertainty and the instability caused by multiple changes (some mutually contradictory) taking place simultaneously, this is the only significant instance identifiable where evaluation led to (attempted) amendment.

Decade 5 (2002 – 2011): Development Waves 7, 8 and 9.

For MFLs this was an uncomfortable decade. CoaMW slowly failed during 2001-05, HMI reported this (twice) in 2005 but nothing happened to improve MFLs, despite the obvious need. In the wider curriculum, Curriculum Flexibility was superseded by Curriculum for Excellence, the outcome of a 'national debate' instigated by Cathy Jamieson (the seventh minister in seven years), but was not formally closed down. However, Circular 3/2001, the sole meaningful remnant of Curricular Flexibility, and its consequences caused significant damage to MFL uptake and attainment. The Labour-Liberal

coalition finally produced a draft languages policy in 2007 but this was not taken forward by the new SNP administration in 2008.

Wave 7

In a clear manifestation of NPM, the 1998 HMI report reflected changing times, taking 'quality and standards' as its focus rather than its predecessor's (HMI, 1990) 'effective learning and teaching' theme. MFLs had been selected as the first report to be published within this new HMI approach because of the concern (SCILT, 1999, p.2) evident from the first page of the foreword onwards. That foreword, by HMSCI Osler, is unusually direct for an HMI document, indicating that: 'this report is not reassuring', 'the situation overall is far from satisfactory', 'searching questions must be asked' and 'specialist teachers frequently showed an inadequate understanding of the principles on which their approach to language teaching and their methodology was based' (HMI.1998, pp. 3-4). He indicated that the situation would 'require action from the Scottish Office, Consultative Council on the Curriculum (SCCC), the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) and from education authorities' (HMI, 1998, p.4) and schools and teachers received their own clarion calls within the report. The subsequent media campaign to improve MFLs helped launch Helen Liddell's Ministerial Action Group (a noticeably more political approach than the traditional CCC/SEB/HMI Joint Working Parties of former years). Chaired by John Mulgrew, North Ayrshire's Director of Education, with a membership including Mike Baughn, the LTS chief executive-in-waiting,

Professor Dick Johnstone, leader of SCILT and Jane Renton, chair of SALT and future HMI language specialist, the committee was peopled by able MFL practitioners and leading commentators. Working over two years, the committee consulted widely and produced a tight set of specific proposals to improve MFL uptake, learning and attainment. Unfortunately, although Jack McConnell (by then education minister) accepted the report his response, crafted by a 'nervous civil service' (M0013), left loopholes around the MFL 'entitlement' which, respondents suggest, allowed (some!) councils to cut down MLPS training courses, replace their own MFL spending with the ring-fenced CoaMW funding (e.g. M0013, M0015, M0020, M0023) and, overtly or covertly, permit many secondary headteachers to move away from MFLs. Respondents with national posts related to the CoaMW committee or the implementation of its proposals almost all saw ADES as having failed to use the opportunity provided and thus as having confirmed the concerns of civil servants about the possible wastage or misuse of the £19.7 million pounds provided for this. HMIe attempted to retrieve the position with two reports (HMIe, 2005a, 2005b) on the problems arising and other commentators, particularly Tierney, noted the primary issues but nothing was done to resolve the decline, other than occasional statements by HMIe that Languages for All still pertained.

Wave 8

Curricular Flexibility and Circular 3/2001 have been analysed in several places within this thesis. The author of this thesis was a member of the national

steering committee, led by Kenneth Muir, HMI. The draft circular which was tabled at the committee differed from the substantive circular (see5) in one significant aspect – it did not contain the following words related to MFLs: 'By giving pupils an entitlement to education in a modern language but not compelling such study schools, pupils and parents should be in the best possible position to ensure that the needs of each pupil are met appropriately.' (SEED, 2001b, p.4). In a situation where few possess knowledge of what happened, use of my own testimony (as a steering committee member) is appropriate: my understanding is that HMI Muir was not the author of the extra words but that those came from within the civil service. There is no paper trail for this, nor do any current MFL-related government officials appear to have records of this or other key decisions and strategies from around this time. This appears to suggest a weakness in the First Triumvirate's governance if such decisions and the rationales behind them are not available for future scrutiny and consideration. Reading section 19 of Appendix 14, one is drawn to the conclusion that the author of this paragraph understood quite well the import of their words. The question remains: who wished to give pupils options to decline involvement with their 'entitlement' to 500 hours' MFL learning and why? Certainly, respondents having knowledge of the members of the CoaMW committee believed that they did not intend MFL learning to be optional, quite the opposite: the entitlement was put in place to suggest to schools that less than this was not an option. Others later re-interpreted entitlement to mean 'option' rather than 'minimum level of service: in effect a return to the Munn Report's position (SED, 1977a, p.24). Several

respondents identified the same senior educational civil servant as the author; whoever was responsible for the change, the effect was profound. The impact of some headteachers' reactions to these words and their subsequent moves away from MFLs in S3/4 (but also, in some cases, in S1/2) is evident in Figures 6.1 and 6.2. Once again, MFLs were reduced to an option (in some cases, from S2, or even S1, to S6) cutting across the intent of both CoaMW and MLPS.

Wave 9

It is unnecessary to describe *Curriculum for Excellence*, its gestation, the issues surrounding it and its related qualifications initiative or even the pathway through which the MFL courses and qualifications appeared as they lie beyond the confines of this thesis. Again, the author was a member of the SQA's Curricular Area Review Group for Languages and vice-chair of the Scottish Baccalaureate Key Partners' Group which considered the associated Language Baccalaureate. It is sufficient to indicate that a lengthy debate grew up around both the current specification of new National Qualifications in MFLs and also around the structure and specification of the Languages Baccalaureate. These MFL-specific issues notwithstanding, the main MFL issues arising from CfE do not come from professional debate about the content and style of courses and qualifications but from a further manifestation of the Law of Unintended Consequences. In this case, the change to one-year (S4) initial qualifications instead of two-year (S3/4), meant that the time needed to permit pupils to take eight 120-hour courses was no longer

available. Schools (and whole authorities) adopted different solutions, with six or seven S4 courses being the most common, although some schools continued to try to offer eight (despite time constraints). Unfortunately, pupils and their parents appear to have continued to choose what they feel to be the most valuable courses, with a large majority opting for Maths, English and either two Sciences and a Social Subject or two Social Subjects and a Science. The outcome of such choices in a '6-column school' leaves MFLs competing with all other subjects in column 6, virtually a return to the curricular examples supplied with the 1959 report.

Inevitably, MFL numbers are dropping sharply in this situation. Schools offering pupils only six courses in S4 under the new arrangements are, in many cases, showing highly significant reductions in MFL uptake. Scott (2014a) shows a 36% drop in expected attainment at SCQF Levels 4 and 5 in Chinese. Since this language is insulated from some aspects of S4 change by the fact that a sizeable proportion of SCQF 3-5 courses in Chinese are taken by senior pupils or external candidates, there is a concern, backed by some other emerging statistics, that the picture for other languages may be worse. Recent SQA figures suggest that the MFL decline in S4 may be 40%.

Joint impact

The obvious concern here (apart from a further decline in MFLs) is for the elements of governance. HMIe and Education Scotland have maintained a

neutral stance on CfE curricular structures, pointing to the strengths and pitfalls of various 'solutions' to the changed S4 position but a number of directorate members and national agency officers have campaigned vocally for 6 columns (whilst large minorities of schools and authorities have quietly held to the previous system). Whilst their moves were well intentioned (as have been many others illustrated in Section 6.3,), it appears that once again the outcomes include unexpected and possibly highly detrimental effects for MFLs.

DECADE 6 (2012 – 2021): Development wave 10.

The final few years of this study should be too brief to cause significant comment. Unfortunately, the cross-cutting issues outlined in Wave 9 seem, at least for the moment, to be eroding both uptake and attainment in MFL courses, thus acting against the developments sought through the sole initiative (so far) of this decade, the 1+2 initiative.

Wave 10

The latest development wave derives from an SNP manifesto pledge and was again enacted through the establishment of a ministerial committee to examine how this might be achieved. The report generated by the group, *Language Learning in Scotland: A 1 + 2 Approach* (Scottish Government, 2012a), surprisingly (since most nationally-experienced respondents suggested that governments respond better to fewer recommendations)

makes 35 recommendations. Although the Scottish Government accepted 31 and partially accepted the remainder in its response document (Scottish Government, 2012b), the devil is in the detail. The Scottish government has actually accepted two tasks, the establishment of a steering group and the funding of pilot work. Although a superficial reading of the 1+2 response might suggest that the government has accepted much of the effort and cost, responsibility for the remaining 33 recommendations is spread across authorities and schools (18), national agencies (6), Further and Higher Education (5) and four are either referred for further consideration or for agreement with another body.

Governance Issues and Impact

This initiative is undoubtedly the most significant MFL development since the Forsyth initiatives. A significant majority of respondents, however, believes that councils a) have other, more important priorities, b) mostly lack the personnel to effectively implement the initiative, c) lack the resources to implement the initiative. They point to the almost complete absence of council MFL policies before 1+2 and the lack of evidence that other than a few councils or their schools are actively promoting MFLs. Respondents are generally positive or very positive about 1+2 but cite the Curriculum for Excellence clash and the previous profiles of councils as indicators that this may follow CoaMW in failing to achieve its target.

SUMMARY

Major Initiatives Impacting on MFLs in Scottish Schools:

- 21 major initiatives have impacted on MFLs in Scottish schools in the period from 1962 to 2014. Six of these have been MFL-specific, the others part of a wider curricular change process.
- These initiatives have appeared in groups, forming ten discrete development waves within which one to six major developments have been at various stages of implementation.
- The pace of change increased rapidly with the arrival of the Thatcher government but has continued to accelerate.
- Increasingly, this acceleration has caused both individual initiatives and entire development waves to overlap significantly causing 'innovation overload'.

Issues included:

- There was a major breakdown of the educational system in 2000 when the pace of change, the number of major initiatives in development (up to 7 simultaneously), rapid changes of minister (7 in 7 years) and thus of political direction jointly contributed to the 'SQA crisis' of 2000.
- There have been 4 major and 6 lesser successes in implementing the 21 initiatives, a success rate of 48%.
- There have been 2 major failures, 1 partial failure and 5 initiatives largely or wholly abandoned, a failure rate of 38%.
- The abandonment rate of 24% is of concern.
- Further concerns emanate from the number of whole-curriculum initiatives (33%) and overlapping initiatives (19%) which have been seen by commentators and respondents alike to have impeded progress with MFLs.
- Only 4 of 21 initiatives (19%) have been seen as wholly successful, supporting both Jessop's and Stoker's views that failures are inevitable in any complex process and that they need to be planned for.
- This last point may be seen as highly significant in the light of the very poor governance scores awarded at national and local authority levels for attempted amendment of programmes to generate improvement. Schools fared somewhat better.

6.3 Effectiveness of MFL Governance: Inputs and Outputs

In this section, further findings on MFL governance and its effectiveness are presented through consideration of inputs to, and outputs from, MFL governance.

INPUTS

Inputs to the governance of MFLs take several forms, including development of vision, policy and curricular/pedagogical approaches (see Sections 6.1 to 6.3), provision of MFL courses, availability and provision of MFL specialist staff and participation of pupils in MFL courses. The remaining inputs not already addressed in sections 6.1 to 6.3 are analysed here.

6.3.1 Diversity and Availability of Qualifications

Language diversity has been repeatedly recommended (e.g. HMI, 1990, 1998; SED, 1947, 1972). At present, French still predominates but Spanish has recently replaced German as the second most popular MFL. Beyond these three, there are small cohorts in Italian, Mandarin, Urdu, Gaelic (Learners) and English for Speakers of Other Languages, but only Mandarin has grown (from zero) in recent years. This picture is, however, very different from earlier years. Since 1962, 22 Languages have been offered in Scottish schools. Table 6.5 illustrates MFL qualifications availability from 1962: as may be seen there has been significant fluctuation in the languages available to MFL learners.

Table 6.5 The Provision of Modern Foreign Language Qualifications in Scotland

Year	S4 O Grade / S Grade / National Qualifications																										S5/6: Higher														S6: CSYS / Adv. Higher													
	French	German	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Portuguese	Gaelic (L)	Norwegian	Swedish	Dutch	Hungarian	Persian	Polish	Danish	Afrikaans	Chinese	Swahili	Hebrew (M)	Urdu	ESOL	French	German	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Portuguese	Gaelic (L)	Norwegian	Swedish	Hebrew (M)	ESOL	Chinese		French	German	Gaelic (All)	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Chinese
1962																																																	
1963																																																	
1964																																																	
1965	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1966	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1967	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1968	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1969	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1970	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1971	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1972	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1973	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1974	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H										F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1975	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H										F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1976	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H	Pe	Pl	D							F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1977	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H	Pe	Pl	D							F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1978	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H	Pe	Pl	D	A	C	Sw				F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1979	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Ne	H	Pe	Pl	D	A	C	Sw				F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1980	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S												F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S				RO						
1981	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1982	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1983	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1984	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1985	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S										
1986	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1987	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1988	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			SG						
1989	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1990	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1991	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1992	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb									
1993	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S									Hb			F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb			EO						
1994	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb				F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1995	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL	N	S	Hb				F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1996	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL							F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	
1997	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL														F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL							F	Ge	Gae	I	R	Sp	

Table 6.5 (continued)

Year	French	German	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Portuguese	Gaelic (L)	Norwegian	Swedish	Dutch	Hungarian	Persian	Polish	Danish	Afrikaans	Chinese	Swahili	Hebrew (M)	Urdu	ESOL	French	German	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Portuguese	Gaelic (All)	Italian	Russian	Spanish	Chinese
1998	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
1999	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2000	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				NQ
2001	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2002	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2003	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2004	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2005	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2006	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U		F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2007	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2008	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL												U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2009	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL									C			U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2010	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL									C			U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2011	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL									C			U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2012	F	Ge	I	R	Sp		GaL									C			U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2013	F	Ge	I		Sp		GaL									C			U	E	F	Ge	I	R	Sp	P	GaL				
2014																															NQ 2

Key:

RO - Introduction of revised Ordinary Grade
SG - Introduction of Standard Grade
EO - End of Ordinary Grade
NQ - Introduction of National Qualifications
NQ2 - Introduction of new National Qualifications.

In 1962, 7 MFLs (French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Gaelic (Learners)) were available. During the remainder of the 'Traditional O Grade' period (until 1979), the move to diversity saw these augmented by four further waves of languages in 1968 (Norwegian and Swedish), 1974 (Dutch and Hungarian), 1976 (Persian, Polish and Danish) and, finally, 1978 (Afrikaans, 'Chinese' (presumably Mandarin, although not recorded by SQA) and Swahili). These seemed to provide a broad platform for MFL learning in keeping with policy decisions (SED, 1947; SED 1977a) encouraging diversity of provision but, with the introduction of Revised O Grade in 1980, 8 of the 10 new languages were removed, with the exception of Norwegian and Swedish, joined from 1980 by Modern Hebrew (presumably as part of a community language programme). SQA was contacted as part of the research for this study, but was unable to link these deletions to ministerial actions, nor were respondents who had national responsibilities in the late 1970s able to provide a rationale for these changes, although several courses patently had very small enrolment levels (see Appendix 16). This represents a further instance where First/Second Triumvirate decisions appear to have been made without consultation or a clearly-evinced rationale.

Perversely, the Forsyth move to improve MFL uptake, capability and attainment also impacted on diversity and may help explain the previous deletions. In paragraph 11, Circular 1178 (SED, 1989) (see Appendix 13) supported the teaching of French but also suggested that: 'The Secretary of State wishes to see more pupils studying German, Italian, Spanish and also

Russian'. This was accompanied in paragraph 12 by another characteristically direct statement:

> There are other languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and the Scandinavian languages which, the Secretary of State acknowledges, pupils may wish to study, especially in the senior years of secondary school. In appropriate circumstances these languages might be studied through National Certificate modules. Generally speaking, however, the Secretary of State is of the view that the study of these languages properly belongs to post school education.
>
> (SED, 1989)

The end of O Grade in 1993 removed the remaining 'paragraph 12' languages (Norwegian and Swedish), along with Portuguese (which had neither been supported nor condemned) and the recent, little-used Hebrew. Circular 1178 ultimately left Scottish language learners with only six languages from which to choose (see Table 6.5). The only conclusion that can be reached is that Forsyth wished to concentrate resources and effort on making a significant impact on Britain's ability to develop a workforce capable of surviving in a competitive European workplace. No new Standard Grade qualifications emerged to fill the gap left by the staged removal of eleven languages until 1998 when Urdu appeared after discussions with Asian communities. This was followed in 2007 by ESOL (to support the increasing number of learners arriving in Scotland with a non-English background) and finally Mandarin (simplified and traditional) and Cantonese in 2008 as part of a UK-wide move to address the economic opportunities provided by the growing Chinese economy. The economic growth argument, however, does not explain the

removal of Portuguese (just as the Brazilian economy began to grow to importance) or the removal of another major European language, Russian, in 2012. SQA personnel contacted to explain these removals indicated that the courses were not 'economically viable'.

In 2014, most of the 1965 languages remain although Portuguese and Russian have been replaced by Chinese Languages (although of these only Mandarin (Simplified) has any real market) and Gaelic (Learners) has been joined by Urdu and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages). Thus, seven languages have become eight (although ESOL is the province of English departments, it is a MFL for pupils arriving from abroad) but the MFL core continues to consist of French, German and Spanish (with Italian attracting only around 700 candidates at all levels, Gaelic (Learners) 500, Mandarin 300 and Urdu around 200, although all of these except Mandarin are declining). However, questions remain regarding both MFLs and community languages. If politico-economic arguments led to the appearance of Chinese, why was Arabic not also included (and Portuguese reinstated)? If Gaelic (Learners) and Urdu are provided to encourage learning of community languages why has no account been taken of SCILT's response to the draft Language Policy (Scottish Executive, 2007) which noted that:

> we recognise that some … languages, including Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese, Polish and Arabic, are spoken by relatively large numbers of people: the School Census shows larger numbers of pupils speaking these languages than speak Gaelic, Scots or British Sign Language.
> (SCILT, 2007).

The 1947 Report (SED, 1947) questioned the dominance of French and favoured Spanish but there is no evidence that this was acknowledged by any governance body: subsequent policies and reports (see Table 6.2) have not addressed this issue. French, Spanish and German are 'economically viable', at lest for the moment, but that rationale is difficult to apply to Italian, Mandarin, Gaelic (Learners), ESOL or Urdu as they are have small presentation groups, so there must be other reasons for retaining a language. In the case of Gaelic (Learners) and Chinese, there are identifiable manifesto commitments to support certain developments but this does not explain why Urdu is supported and Polish and Punjabi are not. In January 2013, Scottish Government officials informed the European and External Affairs Committee (STV, 12/01/2013) that Polish was the second most commonly spoken language in 22 out of 32 local authorities, yet there is no Polish language teaching programme: once again, this appears to lack rationale. It also does not explain why, presumably on economic (and possibly EU) grounds, Italian and German are supported (though small and fairly small in uptake) and Portuguese, Arabic and Russian are not. It therefore appears that no specific rationale for the addition or deletion of a language exists, other than those dating back to Lord Forsyth's Circular 1178, to recent political manifesto commitments (Gaelic and Chinese) and to the 'economic viability' of specific qualifications. Together, these would not sustain all the languages currently provided and do not explain the absence of others with at least an equally strong case. It is difficult to identify effective governance in this arrangement.

6.3.2 Trends in MFL Staffing

Interviews, questionnaires, previous research and teacher statistics jointly indicate there are three main issues related to MFL staffing: the availability/sufficiency of staffing, the quality of MFL staff and their ability during the timescale of this study to deal with a rapidly changing educational environment and pupil clientele, particularly in the 25 years spanning the period from ROSLA, comprehensivisation and the Forsyth era. These factors are, of course, interrelated since having an appropriate number of inappropriately poor teachers whose abilities are limited to dealing with smaller classes and/or the academic elite would potentially represent a greater problem than an undersupply situation with teachers of high quality whose skills allow them to cope with larger classes containing more challenging pupils.

The supply of teachers of all subjects (including MFLs) failed to keep up with rapidly increasing pupil numbers in the post-war period. In the MFL context, this was further aggravated by comprehensivisation (as few junior secondary schools had MFL teachers). The situation was particularly acute in the West of Scotland (Watt, 1989) and was not fully resolved until the easing of growth pressures in the mid to late 1970s (Marker & Raab, 1993, pp.4-5). Although MFLs were not worst hit, some authorities experienced MFL teacher shortages (Watt, 1989, p.281). Since that time, other trends have been apparent – an ageing teacher profession (with MFLs suffering from this as

much as any subject), an increasing proportion of female MFL teachers and a diminishing proportion of MFL teachers within the total number of secondary teachers (Scottish Government annual teacher statistics, 1988 - 2013). Although all relevant statistics for the period from 1962 were requested from the Scottish Government's statistics department, the only available statistics were those on the Scottish Government website and a limited number of others obtained mostly from HMIe sources.

Even these partial figures, as seen in Table 6.6, demonstrate changes in the second half of the period of this study and complement the picture of rising rolls and rising teacher numbers until 1975. They demonstrate that, from 1988 to 1998, overall secondary teacher numbers grew very slightly. Modern Languages teachers grew substantially from 1988 to 1998, reflecting the rapid growth and then plateau phase in Standard Grade presentations in MFLs during the same period.

Table 6.6 MFL Teacher Numbers in Scotland: 1962-2013

	1988	1990	1994	1998	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
English		3003	3008	3017	2387	2510	2620	2796	2963	2992	2915	2915	2678	2636	2590
French	1488	1450	1535	1524	1054	1112	1149	1157	1119	1070	1004	952	900	860	826
German	275	292	430	289	242	261	249	233	193	180	175	166	153	152	136
Spanish	41	50	73	73	65	78	73	66	65	64	66	78	71	71	93
Gaelic		47	51	195	48	52	58	60	59	57	57	59	60	61	60
Italian	9	10	14	15	12	12	11	11	11	12	9	10	11	10	8
Russian	14	13	12	9	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESOL					19	20	24	24	29	39	42	39	32	10	9
Community Languages	0	0	0	2	2	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	8	7	0
Other MFLs					207	197	217	250	267	296	297	280	286	299	276
Total MFL teachers	(known) 1827	(known) 1862	(known) 2115	(known) 2107	1654	1743	1789	1809	1751	1726	61657	1591	1521	1470	1414
Total secondary teachers	24566	24033	24572	24086	24881	24984	23473	24427	24895	24418	23724	23177	22571	22460	22188
MFL as % of total	7.4	7.8	8.6	8.7	6.6	7.0	7.6	7.4	7.0	7.1	7.0	6.9	6.7	6.5	6.4
Female MFL as % of total MFL					78	79	79	80	81	82	83	82	83	82	83

After 1998, overall teacher numbers stayed stable until 2003 but this was not paralleled by either English or MFL teacher numbers, both of which dropped by approximately 20%. It is interesting to note that numbers of SCQF Level 3-5 presentations (which had doubled from 1989 to 1998) continued to grow slowly to 2000 and then stabilised, accompanied by a slight growth in Higher MFL presentations and a doubling of Advanced Higher presentations (again suggesting that FLUSS (McPake *et al.*, 1999) was wide of the mark in suggesting that Standard Grade had been a key factor in a decline of MFLs in the senior school.

From 2003, overall teacher numbers dropped by 11% to 2013, reflecting both a pupil downturn and the impact of significant economic recession. However, within this period it may be seen that MFL teachers dropped by 14.5% whereas English teachers grew in number by over 10%, taking the ratio of English to MFL teachers from 3:2 in 2003 to 2:1 in 2013 – a significant change in the balance of teacher numbers. Also of note is the changing balance of MFL teachers: in a total of MFL teachers which has fallen from 1827 in 1988 to 1414 in 2013, French and German have halved from 1760 in 1988 to 962 in 2013, whereas Spanish has more than doubled from 41 in 1988 to 93 in 2013. This last figure, along with some growth in community languages and Chinese is the only positive note in Languages staffing, although it should be noted that the SNP Government's significant support for Gaelic has not resulted in an increase of Gaelic teachers from the total available under its Labour predecessors.

6.3.3 Trends in MFL Learner Enrolment

A complete statistical breakdown of enrolment for individual MFL subjects from 1965 (SQA does not hold records for 1962 to 1964 as these years were administered by HMI and they have not published this data) to date in given in Appendix 15. Figure 6.1 uses the data from Appendix 16, showing the combined enrolment for all MFLs, calculated as a percentage of all enrolments for all subjects at the same SCQF levels. This removes variances caused by rising and falling year group sizes and enables the relative strength or weakness of MFLs to be considered in isolation from other factors.

Figure 6.1 MFL Enrolment at Levels 3-5, 6 and 7 as Percentages of Total Enrolment at Those SCQF Levels.

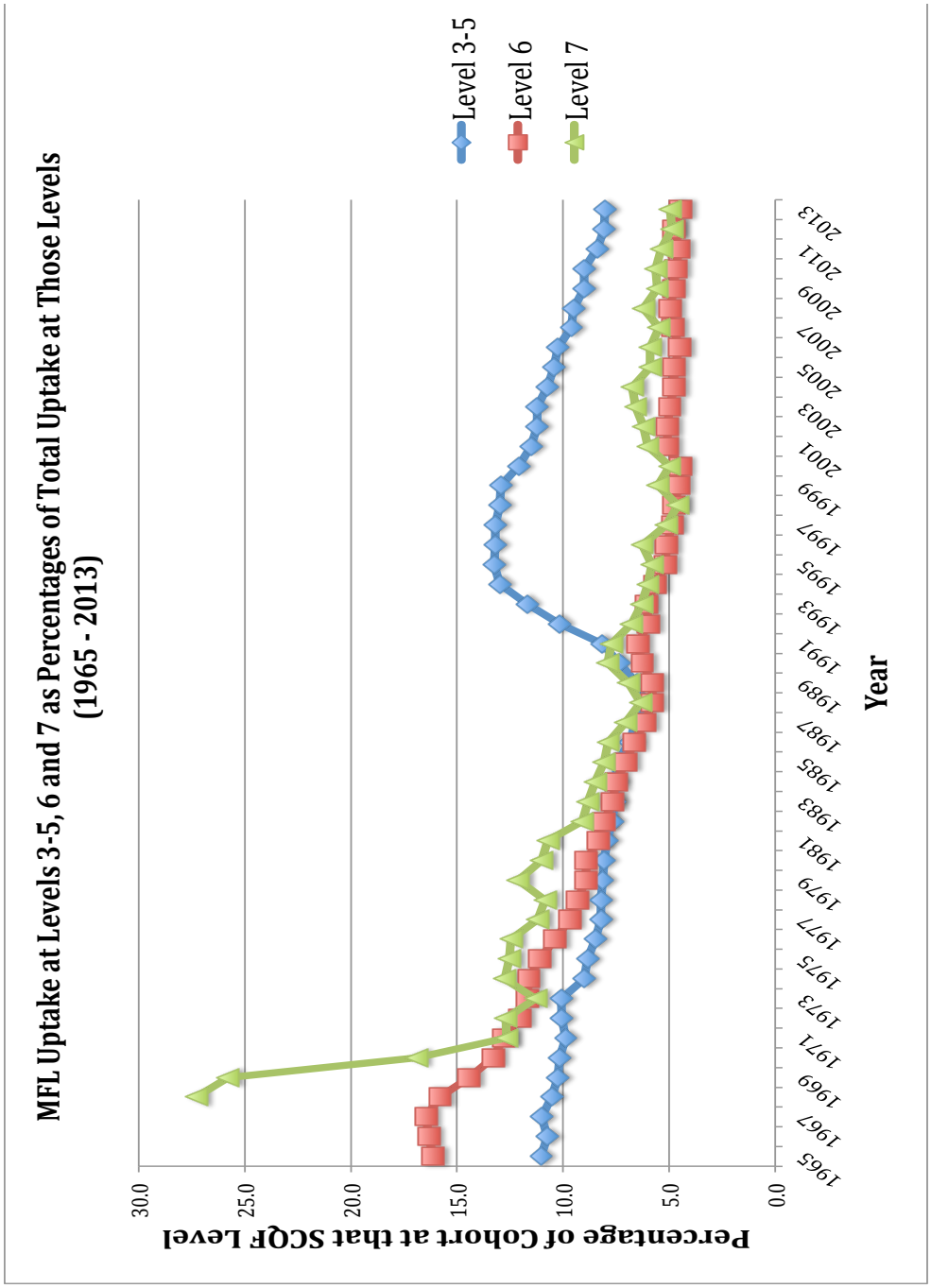


Figure 6.1 presents a picture containing four distinct phases:

1. the end of the MFL period of growth from 1950 to around 1967, with the impact of wider curricular choice.
2. the period of O Grade diversification, negative advice on MFLs (1959 Report), Comprehensivisation, ROSLA, MLPS1, Drill and Practice and Realistic, Spoken Language from 1968 to 1987.
3. the MLPS, 5-14 and S Grade 'Languages for All' period from 1988 to 1999, encompassing growth in S4 but initial growth, then decline, in S5-6.
4. The period of political flux, 'Entitlement', hiatus and HT/individual choice from 2000 to date.

Based on initial data available on the 2013-14 National Qualifications pupil cohort, it is possible to see phase 4 as ending in 2013 and a new phase 5, with noticeably lower uptake for MFLs beginning in 2014.

Phase 1 represents the end of the period of MFL growth from 1950 onwards, with the gains from individual certification, the Classical decline and the arrival of O Grade, balanced by increased choice of subjects and the impact on headteachers of the 1959 Report. Phase 1 can be seen as a period of successful governance, although the pressure for increased certification of pupils' learning came from parents and pupils (still in the 'cloud'), not from hierarchical governance actors. The introduction of O Grade and the Primary

Memorandum stand as key successes, but the failures inherent in MLPS1, the 1959 Report and ‘drill and practice’ would contribute to the Phase 2 downturn.

Phase 2 embodies the multiple negative impacts (as considered in Section 6.3) of the 1959 Report, Comprehensivisation, ROSLA2, MLPS1, Drill and Practice, Realistic, Spoken Language and the removal of the university requirement for Higher MFLs across a range of courses. Their combined effect on MFLs was profound: O grade uptake dropped to less than a half of its 1965 level, CSYS to a third of its 1971 level (pre-1971 is distorted by the limited availability of CSYS qualifications and the early availability of French) and Higher to around a quarter. Positive aspects of governance come through the establishment (and eventual implementation) of Munn and Dunning and the eventual use of SCILT research to illuminate the issues. However, this was a 20-year phase when MFLs declined and where, until the end, governance agents failed to take any significant action other than the (flawed) attempt to replace drill and practice with Tour de France. There is no available evidence from official documentation or prior research to demonstrate that governance actors adverted to the MFL problem until near the end of the second decade despite the published existence of evidence e.g. Kelly (SCEEB, 1975); Dunning (SED, 1977b).

In Phase 3, the still much-disliked style and actions of Michael Forsyth provide the only significant reversal of the downward trend. He represents the sole case of positive and decisive agency by an elite individual actor in the entire

timescale: as respondents almost all indicate, agency depends on context and opportunity, Forsyth was fortunate in having these but made the most of them with a particular set of personal attributes which made him well-suited to this challenge (but perhaps less so to others). The 'Languages for All' approach embodied in MLPS2, 5-14 and, especially, S Grade more than doubled the proportion of S4 pupils gaining a qualification in a MFL. There was a shorter-term effect on Higher and CSYS but, by the time of FLUSS (SCILT, 1999), this had settled back to pre-Forsyth levels.

Phase 4 represents a second, sustained period of MFL decline. Again, the reasons for this – political flux with over-rapid changes of government, ideology and ministers, a long decline in the capacity of the national curricular agency and of local authorities, the increasing ability of headteachers to set local curricula and the ability of pupils and parents to choose subjects other than MFLs – have been discussed at length within the last three chapters. The effect is evident. Given the new freedoms of *Curriculum for Excellence* and the impending downturn in MFLs caused by this, phase 4 represents a somewhat hostile environment within which to launch the second significant pro-MFL development, the 1+2 initiative. It is difficult to describe governance in this phase as other than ill-considered, sporadic and, '1+2' notwithstanding, generally inimical to MFLs.

OUTPUTS

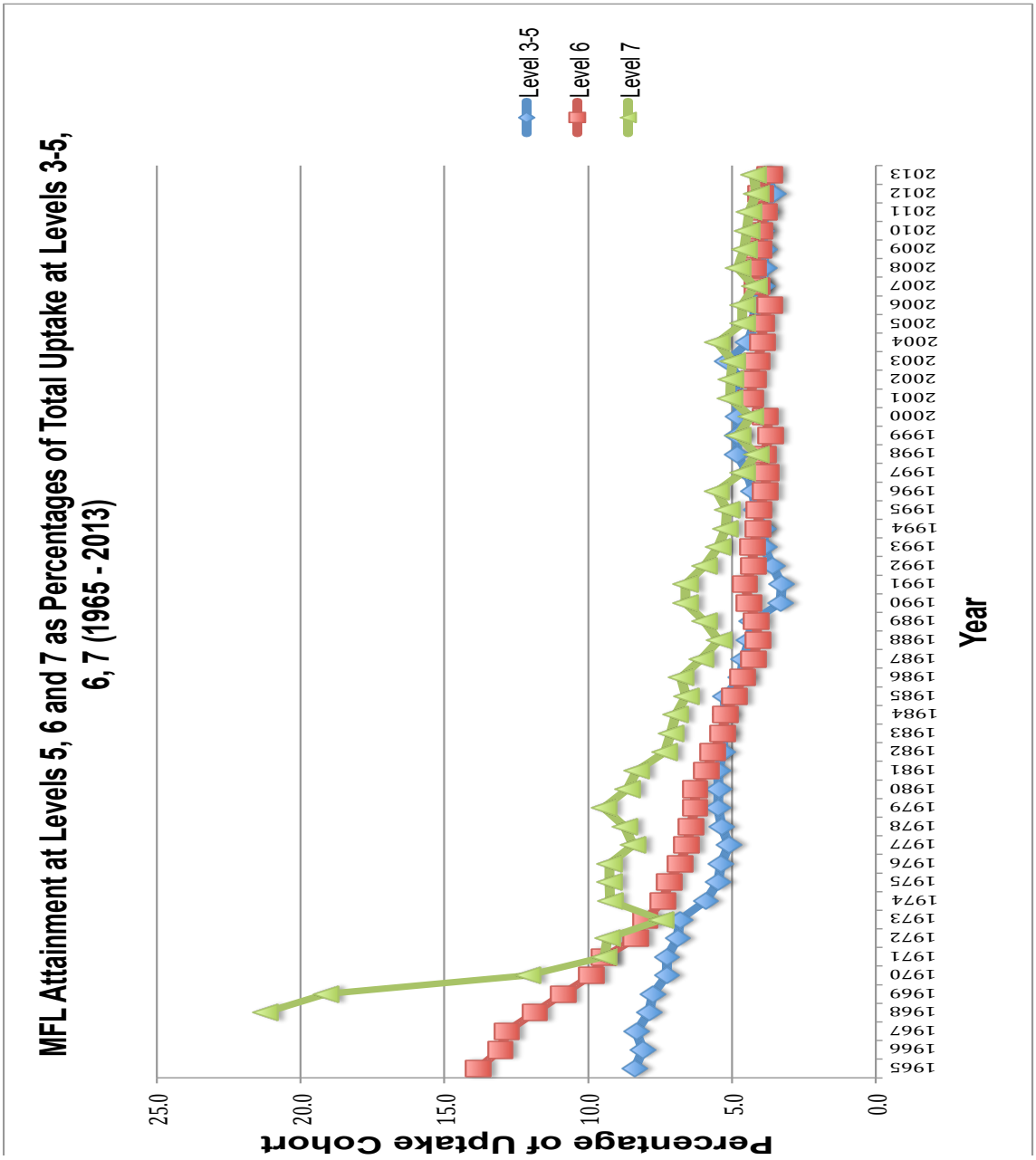
Outputs from the governance of MFLs have been identified from research reports, evaluation reports, attainment statistics and identification of societal linguistic capacity from EU and other sources.

6.3.4 Trends in MFL Attainment

A complete statistical breakdown of attainment in individual MFL subjects from 1965 to date in given in Appendix 17. Figure 6.2 uses the data from Appendix 18, showing the combined attainment for all MFLs at SCQF Levels 5-7, calculated as a percentage of all enrolments for all subjects at Levels 3-7. As with uptake, this removes variances caused by fluctuating year group sizes and enables the relative strength or weakness of MFLs to be considered in isolation from other factors.

The attainment patterns largely follow the previous patterns of Figure 6.1. There is a difference in Phase 3 as this table examines the number of SCQF 5 passes (Credit/Intermediate 2) as a percentage of all SCQF 3-5 passes. Thus, with the rapid growth of SCQF 3 and 4 passes in some S Grade subjects (such as MFLs), the proportion of SCQF 5s inevitably drops. Interestingly, it recovers quickly, consistent with the growth in Highers and CSYS at this time. Other than this, the data confirms the 4-phase analysis of Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.2 MFL Attainment at Levels 5, 6 and 7 as Percentages of Total Enrolment at Levels 3-5, 6 and 7.



6.3.5 UK and EU Comparisons in Attainment and Linguistic Capacity

The UK‘s position within Europe in terms of the linguistic capability of its population has historically been weak. In Chapter 2, Tables 2.4 and 2.5 demonstrated the UK’s earlier position within Europe and the recent Scottish position within the UK. Although the CPPR figures in Table 2.5 show Scotland as slightly stronger than the other UK countries, Table 2.4 demonstrated how weak the UK was in a European context. The European Commission has since repeated its analysis of the European citizens’ linguistic capabilities in 2012. The results were published in Eurobarometer 386 (EC, 2012) and the revised picture is shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 European Data on Societal Language Proficiency (from Survey in Eurobarometer 386: Europeans & Their Languages)

Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue?

[The figures in brackets show the change from Eurobarometer 243.]

	At least one language	At least two languages	At least three languages	None
EU27	**54% (-2)**	**25% (-3)**	**10% (-1)**	**46% (+2)**
LUX	98% (-1)	84% (-8)	61% (-8)	2% (+1)
LAT	95% (=)	54% (+3)	13% (-1)	5% (=)
NEL	94% (+3)	77% (+2)	37% (+3)	6% (-3)
MAL	93% (+1)	59% (-9)	13% (-10)	7% (-1)
SLV	92% (+1)	67% (-4)	34% (-6)	8% (-1)
LIT	92% (=)	52% (+1)	18% (+2)	8% (=)
SWE	91% (+1)	44% (-4)	15% (-1)	9% (-1)
DEN	89% (+1)	58% (-8)	23% (-7)	11% (-1)
EST	87% (-2)	52% (-6)	22% (-2)	13% (+2)
SLK	80% (-17)	43% (-5)	18% (-4)	20% (+17)
AUS	78% (+16)	27% (-5)	9% (-12)	22% (-16)
CYP	76% (-2)	20% (-2)	7% (+1)	24% (+2)
FIN	75% (+6)	48% (+1)	26% (+3)	25% (-6)
BEL	72% (-2)	50% (-16)	27% (-26)	28% (+2)
GER	66% (-1)	28% (+1)	8% (=)	34% (+1)
GRE	57% (=)	15% (-4)	4% (=)	43% (=)
FRA	51% (=)	19% (-2)	5% (+1)	49% (=)
POL	50% (-7)	22% (-10)	7% (-9)	50% (+7)
CZE	49% (-12)	22% (-7)	6% (-4)	51% (+12)
ROM	48% (+1)	22% (-5)	8% (+2)	52% (-1)
BUL	48% (-11)	19% (-12)	4% (-4)	52% (+11)
ESP	46% (+2)	18% (+1)	5% (-1)	54% (-2)
IRE	40% (+6)	18% (+5)	4% (+2)	60% (-6)
U.K.	39% (+1)	14% (-4)	5% (-1)	61% (-1)
POR	39% (-3)	13% (-10)	4% (-2)	61% (+3)
ITA	38% (-3)	22% (+6)	15% (+9)	62% (+3)
HUN	35% (-7)	13% (-14)	4% (-16)	65% (+7)

From Eurobarometer 385, Table [D48T]

As may be seen, of 27 EU member states the UK is ranked 24th in terms of linguistic capability (just below Ireland, equal with Portugal and just above Italy and Hungary). Although this data has been freely available from the

European Commission, there is no evidence of the Scottish Government, its agencies or Scottish councils using this data to support a move to improve language competence in Scotland or to publicise reasons for language learning. Once again, governance actions which would have been expected, given prior governmental statements on the importance of MFL capacity, are lacking.

SUMMARY

Inputs to MFL governance and developments have included:

- The development of MFL vision(s), curricular positioning, policies, course and qualification provision and development, provision of MFL teachers and enrolment of learners in MFL courses.
- 7 to 22 MFL subjects have been simultaneously available at some or all of SCQF Levels 3-7 in the period from 1962 to 2014.
- There have been 5 phases of learner enrolment into MFL courses: rapid growth from 1950 to the mid-1960s; slower, but not gradual, decline from the mid 1960s to 1987; partial growth (particularly in S4) from 1988 to 1994 (Forsyth); a plateau phase from 1994 to 1999; decline from 1999/2000 to date.

Outputs from MFL governance and developments have included:

- Attainment in MFL courses at SCQF levels 3 to 7. This has followed the pattern of enrolment: improvement to around 1966 and then sustained decline with the exception of the Forsyth era.
- Societal linguistic capacity in one or more MFLs in the UK was 24th of 27 countries sampled in 2012 by the European Commission. This position has not improved since the previous EC survey in 2006 when the UK was 27th of 29.
- UK statistics demonstrate that Scotland has had the strongest MFL attainment statistics of the four countries but this is only so as the other three countries' results have declined more quickly than those of Scotland.

Issues included:

- The rationale for, and provision of, MFL courses does not seem to consistently derive from the political, economic and/or educational imperatives shown in Chapter 1. Only infrequently is a rationale apparent (e.g. Forsyth and Circulars 1178, 1187).
- Courses with a clear rationale e.g. Arabic, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Russian and the Scandinavian languages are not supported and/or have been removed.
- MFL staffing has declined, both absolutely and in proportion to other subject areas. The data suggest that the population of MFL teachers is ageing and increasingly female, raising issues about role modeling, particularly for boys.
- It appears from initial data that S4 MFL course enrolments have declined sharply in 2013-14.

Section 6.4 Summary and Issues

MFL governance has experienced political, economic and educational imperatives which have partially framed the direction of its development. Equally, it has been affected by significant challenges deriving from its Anglophone setting and from the negative attitude and poor motivation on the part of learners and other governance actors alike. Combined with an inconsistent, but generally elitist, vision for MFLs and considerable inconsistency in its place within the curriculum, these factors have meant that intermittently positive political statements have not resulted in a consistent policy focus or sustained positive action.

The strategic timeline (Table 6.3) displays very few 'quiet periods' in MFL governance, with an increasing pace of change from around 1965 and further accelerations around 1987, 1998-2000 and 2007 onwards. From 1987 to 2000, increasing numbers of initiatives and a gathering of educational and political pressures culminated in the SQA crisis of 2000 but also imposed specific pressures on MFL developments and teachers through the combination of MLPS, 5-14 (Mk 2), the S Grade - National Qualifications overlap and aggregate impacts of ROSLA, Comprehensivisation and Languages For All on MFL departments, teachers and pupils. The current situation (a whole-curriculum initiative, a new qualifications and a major MFL initiative), shows similar signs to the earlier period of difficulty. Table 6.8 illustrates the outcomes and the extent of success of these initiatives:

Table 6.8 Outcomes of Major Development Initiatives 1962-2014

No.	Major Development Wave	Dates	Outcome
1.	a. Introduction of discrete O Grades and Highers b. Associated curricular review	1959 – 1974 – (1992)	a) Major success b) Partial Success but diversification of courses reduced MFL uptake.
2.	a. Secondary MFL improvement initiative 1: 'drill & practice' b. First MLPS (Modern Languages in Primary Schools) initiative (Fr. only) c. Primary Memorandum d. CCC Curriculum Paper 2: the Ruthven report (*)	1964 – 77 1964 – 74 1965 -> 1967	a) Major failure b) Major failure c) Major success but MFL part undefined d) Largely abandoned
3.	a. 'Comprehensivisation' b. ROSLA2 (to age sixteen)	1964 – 1966 – 1975	a) Success, but MFL impact was negative: reduced uptake b) Success, but MFL impact was negative: reduced uptake
4.	Secondary MFL improvement initiative 2: 'spoken, relevant language' (includes 'Tour de France' & parallel German materials)	1978 - 1985	a) Partial success, but not for the able
5.	The Forsyth Initiatives: a. Standard Grade (1974 – 1988 - 2013) b. The 10-14 report (†)] c. The 5-14 Initiative (1987 – 2010) d. Second MLPS initiative (1989 ->)	1987 ->	a) Success but with major issues for MFL b) Abandoned c) Success but MFL badly managed d) Costly and of variably poor quality after national phase
6.	a. Howie Report (*) b. Higher Still c. Original National Qualifications initiative	1992 1992 – 2015 1999 - 2015	a) Abandoned b) Ended Howie; major success, although contentious c) Major success, although contentious
7.	Citizens of a Multilingual World (CoaMW) (*)	1998 - 2002	a) Largely abandoned, cross-cutting with Curr. Flex.
8.	Curriculum Flexibility (Curr. Flex.) (*)	2000-04	a) Largely abandoned, cross-cutting with CoaMW and CfE
9.	a. Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) b. 'new' National Qualifications	2003 -> 2003 ->	a) Ended Curr Flexibility; promising, but as yet unknown; cross-cutting with 1+2 b) Promising, but as yet unknown
10.	The '1+2' Initiative	2012 -	a) Promising, but as yet unknown; cross-cutting with CfE
N.B. Initiatives marked (*) were not fully implemented. The 10-14 Report (†) was not a Forsyth initiative but was cancelled and replaced by a Forsyth Initiative, 5-14.			

Some governance themes and trends emerge from this. Of the 21 initiatives, there have been 4 major and 6 partial successes, a success rate of 48%. These have been accompanied by 2 major failures, 1 partial failure and 5 initiatives which have wholly or largely been abandoned, a failure rate of 38%. The remaining 3 initiatives are too early in their courses to identify success or failure, although concerns have been expressed about each of them by agency, authority, school and union respondents alike. Apart from the low success rate, what is striking is the level of abandonment of initiatives (24%), the number of successful pan-curricular initiatives which have caused problems for MFLs (33%) and the number of simultaneous initiatives (19%) which have significantly interfered with another. In total (since some initiatives suffered from more than one of these issues), only 4 of 21 initiatives (19%) were largely or wholly successful, with the other 81% succumbing, to a greater or lesser extent, to the 'Law of Unintended Consequences'. M0016's summation that: 'some [initiatives] have been more successful than others but it would be difficult to point to highly successful ML initiatives' seems to be accurate. Given that these initiatives have generally been disjoint, with flurries of activity *and* long periods of inaction (e.g. 1959-77, 2001-13), and have lacked a consistent, long-term rationale and plan, the quality of governance appears low.

6.4.1 The Fruits of MFL Governance: MFL Diversity, Uptake and Attainment

Diversity (of MFL learning and qualifications) was a priority in the period from the late 1940s to the late 1970s. Thereafter, diversity received two successive blows, the first with the introduction of revised O Grade in 1980 when eight languages were removed from the SEB catalogue and the second with the end of O Grade in 1993 when a further 4 languages were deleted, leaving only five – French, German, Italian Russian, Spanish - and Gaelic (Learners) available for study. This long fall from 17 Languages to 5 is little improved by the introduction of Mandarin (but the loss of Russian), ESOL and Urdu (since these last two are community languages, rather than MFLs).

It can, and should, be argued that the pre-1980 range of 17 courses was unsustainable, in terms of cost, uptake and teachers; someone with governance authority obviously thought so, although there is no available evidence to explain who decided to remove eight qualifications in 1979. The second set of cuts is attributable directly to Michael Forsyth whose focus on EU entry made it clear through Circular 1178 (SED, 1989, paragraphs 11,12) that certain European languages were ‘in’ and others ‘out’. Was Forsyth well motivated? Almost certainly, for his specific focus was to increase the numbers of young people entering a European job market with linguistic skills which would advantage them and the UK as a whole. Did he fail to predict the rise of Asian economies? Again, almost certainly, but Mandarin *has* been added since. Should Arabic, Japanese, Portuguese (for the world economy), Polish, Punjabi and Bengali (for local communities) and Danish, Norwegian

and Swedish (if Scotland and Scandinavia draw closer in future years) be included? Possibly. No respondent could indicate why 'obvious languages' (M0001, M0005) such as Polish or Portuguese were not added to the list of available languages; no answer was offered beyond 'it depends on the economic viability' of individual qualifications. This (and the clash with CfE curricular structures) suggests that '1+2' may be *a* plan but not *the full* plan nor is there yet an integrated, fully rehearsed rationale for all aspects of MFL provision.

MFL uptake and attainment have been analysed in Chapters 2 and 6. The trends are broadly similar in uptake and attainment (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2) and may be seen in Table 6.9 to have 5 clear phases:

Table 6.9 Trends (and their Causes) in MFL Uptake and Attainment

Trends in Modern Foreign Language Uptake and Attainment (1962 – 2014)			
Phase	Period	Trend	Reasons for Trend
1	1950 - 1965	Growth	Separate qualifications; decline of Classics
2	1965 - 1988	Decline	Increased competition from new courses and qualifications; lack of appropriate methodology or resources for increased cohorts deriving from ROSLA and comprehensivisation; removal of university requirement for H Grade MFLs in many courses
3	1989 - 1993	Partial Growth	Languages for All policy; Standard Grade qualifications for average and less able pupils
4	1994 - 2000	Plateau	Loss of impetus in Languages for All; political flux and uncertainty
5	2001 – 2014 (and beyond?)	Decline	Removal of SCCC Curricular Guidelines; appearance of Circular 3/2001; failure of CoaMW; decade of political lack of interest in MFLs (and CfE, particularly in '6-column schools')

A little research and comment exists, demonstrating the reasons for the growth of MFLs in Phase 1: the Chapter 6 analysis came from original sources and a few statistical papers of the period. However, no research or analysis relating to the long decline of Phase 2 was found in researching this thesis: almost all respondents, not least First Triumvirate and Directorate members, were unaware of this period of decline or of its links to O Grade diversification, ROSLA, Comprehensivisation and poor pedagogy. Commentary, research and respondents' views on the Forsyth era were influenced by the contemporary SCILT research which came too soon to demonstrate that Forsyth had made a positive difference in engendering some improvement and a longer period of relative non-decline. Only the period from the 1998 HMIe Report and CoaMW exists clearly in the minds of almost all governance actors. There is therefore no real basis of understanding in the educational governance community of the complex sets of issues leading to the current MFL situation. Again, an endemic lack of research (and failure to acknowledge the findings of HMI) has not served Scottish education well.

These issues, along with those from Chapters 4 and 5, are integrated in Chapter 7 and governance theory, models and tools from Chapter 2 are employed in assessing the nature and effectiveness of governance.

Chapter 7 Understanding MFL Governance in Scotland (1962-2013)

This chapter brings together the previous findings, along with a limited quantity of new material, to provide as complete an understanding as possible of the nature and effectiveness of MFL governance in Scotland.

The findings from phases 1a, b and c of the MMR strategy were addressed in Chapters 4 to 6. Chapter 4 addressed Scottish politico-educational governance structures and Chapter 5 the role of agency in governance. Chapter 6 moved from examining the Scottish education system in the wider sense to consider how the agents and structures of that system of governance have attempted to lead, manage and improve MFLs in the postwar era, taking a historical view of the governance of MFLs and also examining inputs made by governance actors in attempting to improve MFLs as well as the outcomes of those actions.

This chapter contains the findings from Phase 2 of my MMR strategy. The data sources for this phase are (i) the findings from the previous three chapters, plus (ii) findings from Chapter 2 including the Realist and Interpretivist views of governance, governance models such as the Asymmetric Power Model and Metagovernance, tests of the nature and effectiveness of governance such as Stoker's (1998, pp.18-19) Five Dilemmas

or Duit & Galaz's (2008, pp.314-319), Frederickson's (2004) principles of good governance and the definitions of 'wicked problems' of governance (Rittel and Webber, 1973; ASPC, 2007) and also (iii) findings from a limited amount of further research undertaken at this point in the study to examine any remaining underexplored areas of the four research sub-questions.

These findings are integrated to provide responses to the four research sub-questions through triangulation (seeking convergence and corroboration of findings) and complementarity (seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration and clarification of findings) but also, since this thesis adopts a Pragmatic approach, using a limited number of what Dewey called 'warranted assertions' (Boyles, 2006, p.7), based on the findings. The main research question itself is addressed in Chapter 8 where a summary view of my findings on the nature and effectiveness of MFL governance is provided.

This chapter is structured in four sections, each section addressing one of the four research sub-questions.

7.1 Governance Structures

Question 1: How have the MFL governance structures in Scotland functioned and evolved during the period concerned?

7.1.1 Evolution of Governance Structures

Scottish educational governance structures have experienced significant changes since 1962, initially driven by post-war growth then linked to the three distinct phases of strategic political governance (see Table 4.2) or to the First Triumvirate's need to deal with challenging situations. These factors generated the five successive national structures analysed in Section 4.3 and illustrated in Figures 4.5 – 4.9. National structural changes paralleled and interacted with major structural changes to councils within the same timescale. Although larger councils were strengthened (and developed significant governance capacity in some cases) by the 1975 change, these improvements was differentially undone by the twin impacts of the 1996 change and of renewed fiscal austerity, leaving most councils in an increasingly weak position. The pattern of oscillations (1300 councils -> 38 -> 35 -> 12 -> 32) since 1872 and the increasing pace of these changes suggest that a further revision of council structures is a distinct possibility.

A wider pattern of accelerating change – of governance structures, curricular structures, qualifications systems and MFL qualifications availability – is apparent across the findings and is linked to the increasing 'politicisation' of educational governance. Inevitably, such significant changes not only amend

structures but also interrupt the processes of agency in governance, especially when change follows swiftly upon earlier change or, worse, overlaps with one or several other changes. Both commentators and a small majority of respondents (54%) suggested that periods before, during and after major council changes and the devolution process (particularly the period from 1994 to 2002) were significantly disrupted. It may, however, be significant for the effectiveness of governance that very few First Triumvirate respondents and some senior Second Triumvirate and Directorate respondents evinced any significant understanding of how structures had changed and what problems or benefits had been generated by them. There appeared to be a greater awareness of such historical issues (and their relevance for future governance) among a small majority of Directorate members and, increasingly, among local authority officers and school leaders.

Using a 50-year baseline, structural changes appear to follow a revolving, rather than evolving, pathway with the strategic governance structure following a 45-year 'centralism > pluralism > flux > centralism' pattern. The current governance structure has (again) reabsorbed the curriculum agency but largely left the teacher and qualifications agencies alone due, most respondents indicate, more to continuing teacher/qualifications workload issues than to a desire for continued pluralism. The council pattern is the inverse of the national pattern during the same period – 'many small, mostly weak authorities > fewer, mostly larger and stronger authorities > flux > many small, mostly weak authorities'. The combined result has caused the two strategic governance layers to undergo simultaneous, but slightly out-of-

phase, changes causing periods of disruption and diminished governance capacity, particularly in the late 1990s.

7.1.2 Nature of MFL Governance Structures

Prior to this thesis, there had been no Scottish attempt to parallel the wider Governance Theory debate, or the English educational work of academics such as Stephen Ball, by applying governance theory to the structures of Scottish education. Previous commentators described a 'policy community' (MacPherson and Raab, 1988) or a 'leadership class' (and, by implication, other non-leadership classes) (Humes, 1986) and generally defined a multi-layered hierarchical structure, although seldom using the word 'hierarchy'. This has usually been seen as comprising three levels – national, local authority and teacher/school – wherein policy was developed and disseminated by the national level; was considered and locally interpreted by councils' education directorates and, finally, was further interpreted, developed and locally implemented by schools and their teachers. Although such a system is itself complex, the current situation is more complex, with five distinct governance layers – national, local authority, school leaders, teachers and a more tenuous governance 'cloud' of other relevant governance groups and individuals – operating within the three hierarchical levels. Some respondents would have wished to split the national layer into the Two Triumvirates, suggesting that the agencies were a separate entity altogether from the First Triumvirates. This study has not adopted this structure as most respondents and commentators have viewed the national layer as a single

entity but respondents' comments on contention between the two triumvirates and the very different roles of the two give weight to such an argument. There is certainly no doubt that the national layer has considerable sub-structure and that interrelations among the components of this layer are at times highly complex. However, each of these layers has its own sub-structures, linking groups and individuals through combinations of hierarchies and networks, although with little evidence of market-based structures. Any instance of markets seems to reside with pupil/parental choice (choice of state or private education, the 'exit' choice to choose a different state school and the basic right to choose subjects), although not all of these choices appear to be exercised to a significant extent.

The five layers of governance operate within a 'traditional' hierarchy, comprising three nested (national above council above school) hierarchical levels, but with school leaders placed astride the divide between the authority level and the school level and with all three levels surrounded by the 'cloud' of governance actors (e.g. pupils, parents, unions and industry/commerce) who partially participate in the governance of MFLs (and have at least some access points to each level) but are not part of any hierarchy and may thus not be empowered or encouraged to play a governance role. The three main hierarchical structures are those which have governed Scottish education for over a century but the model is evolving in that (i) the school hierarchy has developed into two layers (in terms of operation, purpose and focus), (ii) the council hierarchy is shrinking (rapidly, in some councils), (iii) the 'cloud' has gained some strength and cohesion and (iv) both the sub-structures of the

national layer and the balance of power achieved among them are changing and demonstrating some tensions. This represents a radically different structure from that south of the border, both in its nature and in how Governance Theory would describe it.

This picture of Scottish educational governance challenges the 'conventional wisdom' of Bevir and Rhodes in that, as described earlier in this section, there is little evidence of 'marketization', other than in parental choice of schools/courses; networking has developed to an extent but sub-hierarchies are more prevalent and, most significantly, the 'hollowing out' of the state (e.g. through the establishment of national agencies and the involvement of other bodies in governance relations) never progressed to anything approaching the situation pertaining in England and Wales. 'Hollowing out' and agencification have been partially reversed by (i) the re-assimilation of national agencies (e.g. SCET, SCCC, LTS) into a body, Education Scotland, which is a First Triumvirate sub-structure and is thus a part of government, (ii) by the weakening of the voice of the *soi disant* educational experts – the Inspectorate – in this process, but also (iii) by the way in which other governance bodies e.g. ADES and SLS have been drawn much more closely into 'partnership' working with the civil service. The structure is thus much closer to Duggett's (2009) view of a resurgent hierarchy but, although it embodies a few of Dale's (1989) elements of a well-led hierarchy, e.g. devolution of considerable powers to local authorities, it does not consistently embody some other crucial elements, particularly the effective implementation of large-scale government

schemes through local agency or significant societal trust in the professional expertise of teachers and headteachers. As further considered in Section 7.3, the system also seems to embody both Stoker's (1998, pp.18-19) Five Dilemmas and some of Rhodes' (1997a, p.4) reasons for rejecting hierarchical governance (see Chapter 2, p.26).

This analysis of governance structures found favour with a majority of respondents and was best summarised by M0016 as: 'a set of 3 linked hierarchies - national, local authority and school - which suffer from relatively poor linkages. … *de facto,* it has become a national system.'. A similar description of such complex structures is given by Hay (1995) as: 'a nested hierarchy of levels of structure that interact in complex ways to condition and set the context within which agency is displayed' (p.203). Overall, respondents were divided on the nature of governance structures, with the majority opting for an overarching hierarchy, although they perceived sub-hierarchies and networks within this. A minority selected a networked system because of the complexity of inter- and intra-layer linkages, but mostly accepted that hierarchical elements were also present. This dichotomy is understandable as, although the governance structures are innately hierarchical, embodying Scharpf's (1997a,b) 'governance in the shadow of hierarchy' hypothesis, there are evident aspects of heterarchic governance, including formal policy networks (Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1997, p.6) such as the Civil Service - Education Scotland - ADES link, as well as membership organisations (such as COSLA, ADES or SLS) and more informal groupings

(e.g. inter-authority groups, informal HT groups and working parties or teacher self-help organisations such as SALT).

Nested Hierarchies: Levels and Sub-levels

The levels of the three nested hierarchies all contain sub-levels and, in many cases, sub-sub-levels of governance, all contributing to complexity and, to differing extents, to contention or difficulties of communication. As mentioned earlier in this section, the National Layer possesses a very complex set of sub-structures. The First Triumvirate's three components have all gained and lost historically, with civil servants gaining most (and HMIe suffering most) since devolution. Almost all respondents with some national governance background (except non-Inspectorate First Triumvirate members) see the rise of civil servants and related Inspectorate decline as consistent trends across devolved administrations, but particularly in the current SNP majority administration. The SNP has added an extra dimension as, unlike Labour or the Conservatives, it has a more limited kernel of key political voices, a legacy of its recent minority party past, and thus is much more capable of reaching and maintaining a 'tight party line'. The political aspects of SNP education policy are thus more easily decided and then passed directly to civil servants for implementation, leaving HMIe and the agencies in a more peripheral position and altering the balance of power and influence within the two triumvirates. Respondents aware of the process (e.g. M0021, M0038, M0050, M0090) saw the current Cabinet Secretary's habit of phoning selected (for him rather than by him, it appears) headteachers or directorate members to solicit

their views on policy and implementation as window dressing rather than an attempt at pluralism.

The Second Triumvirate agencies were crucial when invented in the 1960s but both curricular and qualifications agencies subsequently created difficulties for the First Triumvirate and have been restructured, repeatedly so in the curricular case. Each manifestation of the curricular agency (Advisory Council, CCC, SCCC and LTS) has suffered due to First Triumvirate actions, e.g. suspension of activity, restructuring, formal review, downsizing, change of leaders and re-assimilation within the First Triumvirate. Whilst this appears to have settled the question of control of the curriculum, it leaves a significant capacity deficit in carrying out essential governance tasks of policy development, consultation, planning, implementation, support and challenge. Much of the lesser structure, e.g. SCRE, SCET and (particularly in the context of this study) subject Central Committees, has also been assimilated or abolished leaving only the larger structural blocks remaining, often with reduced complements. SQA has benefitted from these events, not least by maintaining its sub-structures largely intact, but other governance groups remain wary of its continued involvement in curricular design. GTCS has not been involved in these issues and thus its sub-structures are intact.

The Council layer also contains significant sub-structure. Councils changed twice in 21 years, moving to a regional structure in 1975 and back to unitary councils in 1996, with both changes mishandled to varying extents, according

to respondents and as evidenced by outcomes. These changes have, at times, been portrayed as a move from a set of small, weak, very local county councils to more distant, powerful, monolithic regional structures and then back to small, weak, local councils. The truth is more complex as the pre-1975 city and larger county councils *were* capable of educational leadership and had some national influence, the post-1975 island and some smaller regional councils were still limited in capacity and influence and, post-1996, the larger councils, e.g. Glasgow and North Lanarkshire, are still capable of maintaining an effective educational development service and of influencing national thought. However, governance suffered significantly before, during and after each of these changes as councillors and officers resisted them and then came to terms with the inevitability of change: from documentary evidence and testimony it appears that from six to eight of the 52 years (10-15%) of this study's timescale were disrupted by these processes – a significant interruption of governance.

Councillors lead (prominent councillor) Malcolm Green's (1999) Authority-led education system but are almost unanimously seen by respondents to play no role in MFL governance. This was partially confirmed by the councillors approached to participate in this research as their commonest response was 'please approach the relevant official as they know about this. I don't know anything about MFLs'. Directorate control of MFLs has diminished in most authorities since 1996, as the advisers and, to a lesser extent, QIOs who maintained this control and direction generally no longer exist, although this

trend is less evident in authorities with MFL-experienced/supportive directors and/or influential MFL officers. Despite this, directors are still scored highly by respondents for 'control' of MFLs, although how this occurs in the absence of MFL policies or curricular advice (as evidenced by examination of authority and school websites – see Section 1.1) and of key MFL officers is not clear from council documents or interviewees' testimonies.

The school layer retains a fairly 'traditional' hierarchical structure. Although headteachers have relatively recently been strengthened, there has been little structural change in school structures beyond some 'flattening' with the replacement of some principal teachers by generic faculty heads and the disappearance of some depute headteachers in a minority of councils. Together, these do not yet constitute a significant change within the school layer.

Structural Decay

Once the growth years of the post-war 'baby boom' ended in the late 1970s, the educational governance system began a sustained reduction in size and decay in capacity in both national and council contexts. The declining size of the pupil body meant a corresponding reduction in the need for schools, teachers and teacher training establishments. Although this was not smoothly or consistently handled, it did not constitute a major problem of governance as there have been sufficient schools (albeit of variable quality) and Scotland has not returned to the severe teacher shortage of the post-war era. More

significantly for the national layer, financial pressures, some inter-agency contention, the SQA crisis of 2000 and a growing trend of ministerial and civil service dominance since devolution have seen downsizing and variable diminution of influence for the national agencies. A further problem has arisen from severe, sustained financial pressure on councils. This impacted significantly upon them through the 1980s and early 1990s, lessened in the late 1990s but reappeared with the more limited means of smaller, unitary councils and then, increasingly, through the SNP-COSLA Concordat (offering diminished council finance but removing 'ring-fencing' and so drawing education budgets into wider corporate negotiations) and, inevitably, the world economic crisis which respondents indicate is only now making significant inroads into many councils' budgets, leading to a further round of directorate and educational development service 'rationalisations'.

Malcolm Green's assertion that in Scotland we have a *local* education system responding appropriately to *national* policy developments, but not nationally controlled (Green, 1999, p.146), increasingly appears to have lost the argument to Keir Bloomer's contemporaneous view that local authorities have been increasingly obliged to conform to a national agenda (Bloomer, 1999, p.158). The governance problem, however, is that both national and local layers have lost sufficiently many sub-layers and/or key individuals that it is increasingly difficult for either to argue that they retain sufficient capacity to carry through successive iterations of the complex process of improving the learning experiences and qualifications essential to a broad range of learners

with diverse needs. They are thus increasingly dependent on the school level of governance and the capacity/willingness of school leaders and teachers to carry out significant parts of the governance process, but with the associated dangers of reinterpretation of the national/council vision(s), as repeatedly evidenced by interviewees.

Linkage and Disconnection of Layers and Sub-Layers

Most respondents and academic commentators see the quality of interrelations and linkages within layers as crucial to the effective operation of governance; this is also acknowledged by the First Triumvirate in their comments on the importance of 'partnership'. Unfortunately, a large majority view of respondents (83%) describes these linkages as poor, fluctuating and, at times, ineffective. This accords with some aspects of Humes' (1986) 'leadership class' analysis and with significant aspects of McPherson and Raab's (1988) descriptions of challenges, communications difficulties and aspects of contention in their study. It appears that, despite a quarter-century passing by, the governance system has not progressed in this context. As representative respondents indicate: 'the structure is disconnected' (M0050) and comprises "3 linked hierarchies … which suffer from relatively poor linkages." (M0016). M0021's comments on deliberate miscommunication by national agency members seem less extreme set against this wider picture.

Both inter- and intra-layer linkage problems were identified by a large majority of respondents concurring with M0016's and M0050's comments. Both

triumvirates, especially the Second, have lost key personnel and thus communicative/consultative/coercive capacity. Only SQA retains subject-based groups to support its work, no other standing subject committees exist and *ad hoc* committees in these contexts are less common poat-devolution. Permanent and seconded staff who carried 'the message' from SCCC or LTS (and brought back 'real-world' responses) have largely gone. Inspections are shorter, not least because there are fewer inspectors, and so HMIe's ability to moderate the system or impose the 'national message' is necessarily diminished, despite trying to 'do more with less'. This ultimately implies that, other than the residues of HMIe and LTS (within an Education Scotland team carrying all their previous responsibilities), responsibility falls on civil servants (relatively unused to dealing with the educational 'real world') to carry some of the burden of linkage without necessarily possessing the technical knowledge, time, capacity or credibility (according to respondents) to accomplish this. Ministers are obviously not part of this as they have neither time, desire nor expertise to perform such tasks.

With the departure of Advisers and, recently, some curriculum officers, almost all respondents see school staff (usually Principal Teachers) as increasingly left to carry forward developments, generally in peer committees which lack the means of implementing their deliberations and which some respondents see as potential foci for dissent. Secondary schools and, to a lesser extent, primary schools are less closely scrutinised by local authorities than they once were. Partially due to fiscal and other forms of quasi-independence, partially

to headteachers having found their collective voices and partially to the lack of authority personnel to evaluate the actions of headteachers, deputes and PTs, school leader respondents suggest this leaves annual review meetings and relatively infrequent headteachers' meetings with Heads of Education and/or Directors to carry forward the authority/national agenda. Some respondents exemplified positive aspects of interaction involving some or all of the school, authority and national agency levels, although there was a widespread view that these did not represent a constant level of positive relations. The system enjoys cooperation among and within layers but also suffers from contention in these same relationships, coupled with some striving for control of aspects of the process. This is further explored under Agency.

The views of respondents on the 'relatively poor linkages' between and within layers of governance come from their significant personal experience and were clearly exemplified by interviewees from all layers except parts of the First Triumvirate. Erosion of numbers and experience in some sub-layers (e.g. agencies, education development services) has decreased the effectiveness of at least some, and perhaps many, linkages within the governance system. Together, these issues of (lack of) linkage constitute a growing erosion of the structure and capacity of educational governance. Integration of available evidence suggests that the mechanisms of governance are running low on people to 'oil the governance wheels'. The current structure is therefore weaker than its predecessors.

7.2 Agency in Governance

Question 2: How, how well, why and in what ways has the agency of key governance actors and groups shaped and modified those structures and processes?

7.2.1 Group and Individual Agency

Both respondents and academic commentators (e.g. Ball & Junemann, 2012; Humes, 1986; McPherson & Raab, 1988; Parish *et. al.,* 2007) describe two types of agency: that of groups and organisations and that of individuals. However, triangulation of documentary analysis, interviews and academic comment suggests that four main strands of agency are at work in MFL governance. There is clearly that of groups, not least those whose asymmetric strength endows them with the ability to make changes and (potentially) improve situations. The agency of individuals is subdivided into three classifications. The agency of elite individuals is the most obvious of these. As seen in Chapter 5, it is highly context-specific, requiring an elite governance actor with appropriate attributes operating in an environment which supports their agency, usually generated by significant power or broad consensus. Ideally, both would apply but only one Scottish instance exists of each type and none of both – the former Michael Forsyth who was able to drive through Languages For All *and* leave aspects in place long after his departure (Humes, 1995, p.112), the latter Peter Peacock who had a broad consensus (e.g. M0001, M0021, M0047) for his more limited agenda. Interestingly, some respondents added three of the five directors in prominent

national positions before or after the millennium - Frank Pignatelli, Keir Bloomer and Michael O'Neill - to the elite group, based on the power of their argument and backed by the quality of their work – rare examples of Directors entering the 'governance tent' as a result of their skills. Such examples grow from the second class of individual agency which refers to the ability of a director or headteacher to exercise effective 'local' agency and to move the part of the system for which they have overall responsibility in a particular direction, either through consensus or *fiat*. Respondents provided multiple examples of such actions, although fewer of the cooperative variety. The third class of individual agency, identified in Chapter 5 as 'quiet agency', represents the unobserved but influential actions of certain individuals within the governance system. At the micro-level, MFL teachers, MFL principal teachers and Guidance teachers can all exert significant influence over individual learners who may (or may not) thus be enthused, persuaded to take MFLs or advised about the benefits of further involvement with MFLs for their potential future careers. Quiet agency extends beyond the micro-level, however, as headteachers and directorate members find means of influencing council and national initiatives, while individual national agency officers and civil servants have specific responsibilities for qualifications, curricular and teacher qualifications and so can also have significant impact on whether specific qualifications are available to learners, or the nature and extent of a subject's place in the broader curriculum or whether a teacher requires an MFL background to teach a given subject.

Many governance groups are inherently powerful compared to individuals and should dominate the governance landscape but two factors can transform the impact of group governance. The first relates to situations where many individuals, although operating alone, quasi-simultaneously decide to move in the same direction. Such a move can quickly transform a situation and two examples of this are seen in i) the negative reaction of (some to many) MFL teachers to the changed pupil cohorts after Comprehensivisation, ROSLA and Languages For All and the consequent failure of significant numbers of pupils to take MFLs, and ii) the rapid downturn in MFL uptake and attainment after 2001 when headteachers were released from the former national curricular guidelines and empowered by Circular 3/2001 to remove MFLs from the curriculum of some or many pupils in S3 to S6. As Ball (1994c, p.10) suggested, 'Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map onto the "wild profusion" of local practice.'

The second factor relates to the ability or willingness of groups to play a full role in governance. Two examples of this lie in i) the involvement of national politicians in curricular governance – quiescent from well before 1962 until 1965, partially so from 1975 to 1987 and, due to considerable political flux, inhibited in effective participation from around 1996/7 to 2001/2 but otherwise increasingly powerful and generating an increasing pace of change and in ii) the sinusoidal power/influence curve of the Inspectorate: strong to very strong until around 1965 when HMSCI Brunton retired, then weakened, strong again from the mid-1970s; harnessed but given significant responsibility/power by

Forsyth, strengthened under HMSCI Osler, significantly weakened after the SQA crisis of 2000, during the CfE implementation process and also after the 2011 amalgamation with LTS. Those last three phases of Inspectorate decline have been particularly unfortunate for the subject of this thesis as HMIe's clear warnings about the decline in MFLs seemingly went largely unheeded during these years.

Analysis of the questionnaires and governance wheel results, moderated by documentary analysis and interviews with respondents, provided insight, often significantly so, into the actions of the three national layers of governance and their sub-layers. These insights fall into two broad categories: Influence, Support and Control and Action and Impact.

7.2.2 Influence, Support and Control

National and school actors were consistent in seeing the Scottish Government (particularly the education minister) and headteachers as the most important figures in the governance of MFL, although each group saw itself as most important and the other as second. Thereafter, they differed with national actors seeing the civil service as third, whereas school-based actors chose MFL Faculty Heads; both groups saw council actors as weaker to much weaker. Local authority respondents, however, see government, directors, headteachers and school MFL leaders as all having approximately equal strength in influence, control and support. Thus, the governance 'world view' of council respondents differs from that of national and school respondents.

However, national and council figures agree in seeing headteachers in a 'Jekyll and Hyde' context in MFL governance: some leading attempts to improve MFLs, but a greater number causing problems for MFLs, either by deliberate down-sizing or by operating a 'market forces' approach to MFLs. As M0001 said, 'The HT plays a crucial role in whether MFL grows or shrinks within the school. Far too many are hostile to, or uninterested in, MFL'.

Nationally, initial quiescence, ministerial turnover and (from 1996 to 2002) flux disrupted politicians' ability to control or improve MFLs. From 1986 to 2003, there were only five years (1988, 1991, 1993, 1994 and 1996) when a new Education Minister was not appointed, with inevitable consequences for the political direction of educational policy, not least in MFLs. After 2003, no MFL strategies or initiatives were implemented for a decade. The current minister is highly rated for influence and control, largely due to his length of tenure, but most ministers have left little trace of their actions and junior ministers even less so. The current junior minister *is* mentioned by some respondents due to the '1+2' initiative. Thus, ministers fit correctly into the wider picture which suggests that individual agency is highly difficult to achieve, except in a local context such as a school. Civil servants were moderately rated overall but national respondents see senior civil servants as immediately behind the minister and the headteacher in terms of influence and control, highlighting the differing viewpoints of governance actors and the previously identified issue that civil servants' powers and duties are not well understood by those beyond the national layer of governance. Concerns were frequently expressed about

aspects of their suitability for their current role, e.g. ‘they are a very solid core of people who find it very difficult to envisage anything different from what they are doing at present.’ (M0016). This was linked by respondents to difficulties of continuity and knowledge caused by their 3-year rotation processes. Agencies did not rate highly for support or control, although schools saw HMIe and SQA as having significant national influence.

With the ‘persistent and increasing weakness of the middle local authority layer’ (M0016), local politicians, even Education Conveners, are seen as having very little or no MFL influence or control. Of local authority officers, only directors and, to a lesser extent, heads of education are considered to have more than a little overall importance to MFLs, although directors were only rated strongly on control, although most respondents see authorities as having taken no MFL action since before 2001. In schools, all layers of staff are consistently seen as influential and this reflects a wider view of respondents that school actors, particularly the headteacher and PT Modern Languages, are highly significant actors in the governance and provision of MFLs. Teachers and headteachers rated strongly in terms of ability to support MFLs but pupils and parents are not seen as influential, although school respondents rated them more highly.

7.2.3 Elements, Action and Impact

The 12 governance elements of Chapter 5 were analysed by integrating documentary analysis of educational governance (particularly of the 21

initiatives) with the results derived from the 'governance wheels' tool and from interviews. The governance cycle tool provides a previously unavailable view of how MFL governance has functioned. As M0021 said, it appears to be: 'a bi-cycle with busted spokes'. The results drawn from the wheels were confirmed, and elaborated upon, by almost all interviewees, with a few (some First Triumvirate officers and two directors), however, seeing their own layer in a markedly more positive light.

In each of the three levels of hierarchy the shapes of the governance wheels for Action and Impact were consistent, with Impact being a smaller version of Action, but their import, as HMSCI Osler said in the 1998 HMI Report on MFLs, 'is not reassuring' (HMI, 1998, p.3). The national level is only perceived by respondents to be strong in Policy. The related elements of Leadership, Planning, Consultation and Development are only considered to be 'medium' in action and 'a little' in impact. All other aspects of national governance are considered weak with a large minority of respondents rating the impact of Amendment as 0 (but all non-Inspectorate First Triumvirate members rated this as 3 or 2). When seen alongside Chapter 6's picture of many national MFL initiatives being abandoned or left without improvement, this suggests that the national layer has not, in general, followed an improvement cycle in governing MFLs. It was impossible to ascertain from interviews whether non-Inspectorate First Triumvirate members differed completely from almost all other respondents regarding their capacity to learn from previous situations or whether they were presenting an 'official picture'.

The council layer is seen as weaker than the national layer. Training and Resourcing, with Management, Development, Implementation and Leadership quite close, were rated as 'medium' for action, and almost all as 'little' for impact. Of the remaining factors, Planning, Policy and Evaluation were weak, supporting respondents' views that local authorities had failed to focus on MFL policy since CoaMW. Weaker yet were Research, Consultation and Amendment, particularly in terms of Impact, where respondents saw little or no effect. This last view was particularly evident in headteachers and deputes, but also from some local authority MFL officers and national actors. This appears to confirm the commonly-held view that many local authorities have lost governance capacity and, due to the disappearance of MFL officers, focus on MFLs.

In the school layer, the extent of impact is also perceived to be less than the extent of Action, but in both cases on a significantly larger scale than national and council levels with Leadership, Planning, Development, Management and Implementation approaching 'major' for Action and almost all around 'medium' for Impact. Although there are more school-based respondents than authority or national respondents, most national actors and some local authority actors are broadly in agreement with their school colleagues and therefore these views permeate all layers of governance (see Appendices 15, 16; Tables 5.5, 5.6). Schools' weakness in Research completes a set across all governance layers, validating the literature review in this respect and inevitably raising the

question of the basis on which MFL (and other curricular) initiatives have been planned and developed at any governance level.

National and school governance actors see themselves as taking the greatest degree of action but, with the exception of school actors, not as having the greatest impact: all three layers see schools as having the greatest impact. National actors see schools making more impact on MFLs than they do themselves and see local authorities as weakest in action and impact. Local authorities see their own actions as weakest. They see *some* schools as weakest in action, but most as having significant impact (for good or ill). In so doing, they rate schools much more negatively than do national actors. The pattern of school responses differs markedly from this pattern, rating national and authority actors significantly lower, although schools share the national perception that local authorities are weakest in action and impact.

7.2.4 On Being 'Inside the Governance Tent'

Almost all interviewees agreed about whether certain classes of actors and/or individual actors were included within the Scottish government's definition of partnership, i.e. whether they were 'within the governance tent'. From the national layer, Ministers, senior and middle-ranking civil servants were considered to have been consistently 'within the tent', although school respondents only agreed with the ministerial rating. National curricular agencies were perceived to 'come and go' (M0031) from the tent at times, although generally within. Most respondents were uncertain about the current

status of Education Scotland (and, specifically, about its leadership), although the majority feeling was that the agency had significant *potential* power and was thus ‘inside the tent’.

At the council level, directors and councillors were seen as generally being outside the tent, although examples were given of individual directors who were, for a while, admitted. As M0016 suggested: ‘Some individuals *are* necessarily admitted to the tent, often because they have necessary skills or knowledge and significant power can be divested to them once they are given trusted status.’ A minority of respondents from local authority and school backgrounds questioned if this was a genuine admission or whether the need for these directors’ skills in operational/chairmanship roles gave them a token, but neither lasting nor genuine, acceptance by the real incumbents of the tent.

The school and ‘cloud’ layers were almost unanimously seen as outwith the tent. Some respondents suggested that a few headteachers had been admitted to the tent on the same basis as some directors, while others suggested that the inability of MFL teachers to directly influence their area of operations had resulted in the erection of ‘other tents’ wherein at least some MFL teachers had come to informal agreements about how to respond (or not) to governmental initiatives. National parents’ groups were perceived to have some involvement (but little influence) with civil servants, although First Triumvirate members saw the parental involvement process more positively.

7.2.5 Contention

The Scottish Office definition of partnership in education appears never to have extended below local authorities, other than in the Forsyth period, although his view of 'partnership' was not conventional. Based on interviews and documentary analysis, partnership does not appear to have improved in recent times, despite some increased networking, and, as in McPherson and Raab's (1988) study, aspects of contention are evident from published sources and respondents' testimonies. For example, 'the agencies generally mean well in principle but the quality of staff varies. They do cooperate but there also seem to be tensions.' (M0001). Several national agency officers spoke of specific instances of this although others also spoke of inter-agency cooperation.

Contention between agencies and the First Triumvirate was a recurrent theme among a large minority of respondents from all layers, being cited by them as a key reason for the disappearances and amalgamations suffered by Second Triumvirate and minor agencies. However, the wider evidence suggests that even significant contention by agencies does not immediately cause disbandment or reconfiguration as the First Triumvirate does not generally operate so overtly. As politicians or senior civil servants seek to improve structures, cut costs or present an image of progress, opportunities may, however, appear for the First Triumvirate to review, remodel or, if all other measures fail, to begin again. Other strategies also exist as agencies have been downsized, moved to more distant positions (geographically and in

terms of influence and access), and subjected to leadership changes. It appears there are subtle means of exercising control and, as McPherson and Raab (1988, p.255) note, 'memories are long, but the opportunities for action infrequent' so the evidence of action being taken by the First Triumvirate may be discerned structurally, in terms of constraining or facilitating action and in the approval or abandonment of initiatives proposed by national committees.

7.2.6 Ability to Exercise Agency

As a large majority of respondents suggested, and in keeping with the views of Marsh *et al.* (2001a, 2001b), the governance system contains evident asymmetries of power, with the Scottish government, headteachers and, to a lesser extent, directors of education holding the levers of power (see Chapter 4). The 'metagovernance' view of Scottish educational governance is held by a majority of respondents to be accurate, albeit with varying extents of group or individual agency present. The balance of agency in educational governance and development has shifted towards politicians, civil servants and SQA. The ability of local authorities to contribute to governance has diminished and this is further complicated by the increased (potential) agency of headteachers. As considered in Section 7.3, the system also seems to embody both Stoker's (1998, pp.18-19) Five Dilemmas and some of Rhodes' (1997a, p.4) reasons for rejecting hierarchical governance (see Chapter 2, p.26). Together, these constitute a significant change in educational governance which has impaired the effectiveness of governance.

7.3 Models, Styles and Elements of Governance

Question 3: What models, elements and cultures of governance have been, and are, apparent in the governance of MFL?

7.3.1 Governance Models and Styles

Findings in this section were developed from integration of governance theory from Chapter 2 with documentary analysis and respondents' views from all three findings chapters. In addition to providing respondents with governance diagrams and governance wheels, discussions were held with interviewees concerning Interpretivist and 'Modelling' approaches and specific models such as Metagovernance or the Asymmetric Power Model. Jessop's Metagovernance ('the governance of governance') model was the most commonly espoused by respondents, as it acknowledged both hierarchy and networks and proposed means of understanding and manipulating the 'sheer complexity' (M0021) of the system. Table 2.2 provides a detailed analysis of the principal governance 'models'. All three models describe aspects of the MFL governance system but Metagovernance comes closest to describing how the system functions. Metagovernance (see Chapter 2, pp. 59-60) and the Asymmetric Power Model (APM) (p.60) both provide effective models of a complex, essentially hierarchical, multi-layered system containing hierarchies, networks and some limited markets.

Although the First Triumvirate perceives a governance partnership, this style is not accepted by a significant majority of respondents from other layers who see the national government sub-layer (ministers and civil servants) as controlling governance through Metagovernance, a parallel view to Rhodes' 'leaders know best' culture (1997a, p.4) or M0016's 'consensus of elites' hypothesis. As M0043 suggested, 'most of the flow is downwards, with very little upwards'. However, this downward control is imperfect, partially due to poor linkages, partially to lack of trust, shared beliefs and cross-layer commitment and partially to locally strong agency e.g. that of headteachers and MFL teachers, leading to reinterpretation of the original vision.

7.3.2 Governance Theory and Scottish MFL Governance

Chapter 2 explored the debate between Interpretivists and 'Modellers', particularly the proponents of Metagovernance and the APM, on applying Governance Theory to practical situations. In the context of MFL governance in Scotland, both approaches have a place. However, neither the Interpretivist view that structures are theconstantly evolving *gestalt* inventions of individuals nor the Structuralist end of the 'Modelling' spectrum which reifies structures as 'hard' and immutable and agency or events as secondary or superficial (Sewell, 1992, p.2) is accurate: the extent to which structure or agency describe governance moves back and forward along the central part of a spectrum between these two extremes, depending on the politics, groupings, personalities and issues of the day.

Governance models help to describe why and how the governance system will operate in given circumstances and to predict what might happen if certain actions are carried out. As in the definition of the preceding paragraph, curricular/MFL governance is not static: governance structures, actors and initiatives appear, mutate and, in some cases, disappear. The analysis of governance requires a long baseline as change is usually achieved slowly, by M0016's 'consensus of elites', rather than quickly by individual *fiat*, however powerful the individual may be. The questionnaire and interview aspects of this thesis lean towards Interpretivism, seeing the *gestalt* views of governance actors as expressing aspects of the 'evolving reality' of MFL governance and supporting analysis of the agency of individuals and groups. However, these Interpretivist findings have been weighed against how governance models, documentary evidence and statistical data suggest the system and its actors behave, ultimately generating a set of narratives which have combined history, beliefs and traditions with models, structures and statistical evidence. Although not always a perfect marriage, these accounts have enabled a closer, more rounded (and more detailed) examination of Scottish educational governance than would have been possible with a single approach.

However, Governance Theory has more to offer than modelling in considering MFL governance. Stoker's (1998, pp.18-19) Five Propositions identified five key dilemmas (see Section 2.2) of governance and these are readily recognisable in Scottish MFL governance. For example, press, union and

political reactions to some MFL initiatives or failures are examples of the disconnection between the operation of a complex governance system containing multiple layers of groups and individuals with their own interpretation of priorities and actions and an analysis of its success against some relatively simplistic political or societal norms. The blurring of responsibilities for MFL improvement across the layers of governance and the accompanying mutual blame and self-justification have been recurring themes in Chapters 5 and 6 (and notably among respondents). The 'Law of Unintended Consequences' was invoked throughout Chapter 6 to explain why problems were not anticipated and development projects failed. The dissatisfaction of governance actors inside (e.g. MFL teachers, headteachers) and outwith (e.g. parents, pupils) the linked hierarchies has been repeatedly commented upon, as have the challenges of accountability by MFL teachers, headteachers, councils and national actors throughout Chapters 4 to 6. Stoker's all too accurate 1998 analysis of governance dilemmas, Jessop's (e.g. 2000, 2003, 2004) views on the inevitability of at least some failures in a complex governance system, even where those attempting to control the system operate with openness and flexibility, and Rittel and Webber's (1973) analysis of 'wicked problems' of governance all offer both accurate analysis of the issues of Scottish educational governance and also practical support for those who attempt to govern large-scale initiatives. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that such fruits of research have played any part in attempts to improve either MFLs or Scottish education in general.

Only McPherson and Raab (1988) and, to a lesser extent, the Bryce and Humes series and parts of Paterson's *oeuvre* have previously made a sustained consideration of Scottish educational governance in at least some of these contexts. The findings of *this* thesis, however, repeatedly exemplify Stoker's dilemmas and many aspects of the definition of a 'wicked problem of governance'. Demonstrably, there have been multiple failures in the attempts to improve MFL uptake, learning and attainment (although not always accompanied by governance actors operating with openness and flexibility): Jessop, the leading 'Metagovernist', would suggest that failure is an inevitable part of complex governance and should be anticipated and planned for. Again, there is no evidence of such actions in the national or authority layers, nor any trace of awareness by them that failure might occur, although there was some limited evidence of practical examples of this among the testimonies of school level respondents.

In terms of Duit and Galaz's (2008, pp.314-319) application of Complexity Theory to governance, Scottish educational governance is a Complex Adaptive System in that (i) small changes do not necessarily produce small effects; (ii) the system is dynamic and equilibrium is temporary; (iii) central agents do not fully control the whole system but local agents may make significant local changes; (iv) the elements of the system are interconnected but do not interact in a consistently predictable manner and consequently significant unexpected changes can occur. They would see the Scottish MFL

governance system as having *limited* adaptive capacity, principally because its explorative capacity (research, evaluation, learning and amendment) is very low but also because its exploitative capacity (vision, development, implementation and efficiency) is limited and inconsistent. Their diagnosis would be that the Scottish MFL governance system (and also the wider Scottish educational governance system) is 'fragile', where 'fragile' implies that:

> weak capacities for exploitation and exploration form a vicious circle where difficulties of accumulating knowledge and capital due to high transaction costs [inhibit] the capacity to adapt to new circumstances and to buffer the effects of shocks, which in turn makes it even harder to achieve collective action.
>
> (Duit & Galaz, 2008, p.321).

As with Stoker and Jessop, this appears to be an accurate insight into a governance system with repeated failures, where the impact of research and evaluation seems consistently weak, where amendment is very weak (i.e. improvements do not appear to be consistently identified when things go wrong or, when identified (e.g. by HMIe), do not appear to be acted upon) and where the layers of the governance system are not well linked. Several academic commentators (e.g. Humes, 2013b; Paterson, 1999) would suggest that part of the problem appears to derive from those 'inside the tent' appearing not to commission (or read?) relevant educational research and thus not necessarily being aware of the fragility of their system or of the need to plan for the consequences of failure. Illustration of the theoretical deficit underpinning Scottish educational governance is perhaps provided by the fact

that my mention of Governance Theory was only met by informed response in a very few interviews.

7.3.3 Governance Cycles and Elements

Almost all respondents agreed that a governance cycle *should* apply to national, council and school improvement programmes, that the 12-spoke 'governance wheel' was an effective tool for analysis of governance and that the findings deriving from its use were a satisfactory basis for planning improvements to governance. Do the findings of this thesis demonstrate that such a cycle *had* been implemented in some or all of the three governance levels? The general answer appears to be 'no' and this is particularly evident in the poor national and authority governance grades for Leadership and Research and for Evaluation and Amendment. The national score for Evaluation is most surprising as HMIe's reports on MFLs have been both accurate and insightful. It is possible that some agency-based respondents' views that recent HMIe reports are now acted on (or not) by lower grade civil servants means that there is less strategic awareness of the issues they raise; equally, they may be well understood by the elite but not acted upon.

There have been signs of cyclical processes in some layers: school development planning and evaluation based on 'How Good is Our School' is an instance, although it is clear from reading a broad sample of inspection reports that this is a strength across some, but not all, schools. However, even this partial strength fits with the higher grades awarded by respondents

to schools with respect to both the vision and amendment ends of the governance cycle (Research excepted). It appears that schools, however little they may enjoy the experience, have benefitted from the rigour of HMIe inspections in the quality of their governance processes whereas local councils, no longer subject to INEA (Inspection of Education Authorities), and the two triumvirates, not generally subject to such public processes (although undoubtedly to some private considerations), may be clearly seen not to have had their governance processes sharpened by the benefit of what HMIe have sometimes described as 'a free MOT'. Respondents' comments (more strident here than in other contexts) substantiate the lack of cohesion and cyclical improvement in the agency of national governance layers and actors:

> No, it hasn't been cyclical. I would describe it as sporadic and opportunistic. However, although it is not cyclical, there are things that recur, such as primary language programmes.
>
> (M0016).

> To date it has clearly not been governed as a cycle but rather with different people responsible for different elements and often not working together. The holistic view has not been taken.
>
> (M0021).

A summary of what appears to happen in the council and national levels is also supplied by M0021: 'educational governance is an amalgam of overlapping self-interests' and this fits well with M0016's upper-layer 'consensus of elites'. It would be difficult to argue against moving the upper two levels of governance to a formal evaluation cycle using a set of quality

indicators keyed to something akin to the 'governance wheels' tool, with publicly-available results, in order to improve the nature and quality of strategic governance. The problems in carrying out this relatively simple improvement would come from a) such a scheme cutting across political manifestos and programmes and b) finding an appropriate agency to implement the (say, annual) audit of governance performance (see the subsequent Who Measured the Ground? sub-section, pp.448-9).

7.3.4 Metagovernance

Metagovernance has been seen by this thesis and by a majority of its respondents as providing a realistic description of MFL governance. However, as Jessop (2003) suggests, understanding the potential contribution of Metagovernance to effective leadership and administration does not guarantee its success. It is not a mechanistic process which can be resolved by 'experts' in educational administration. Educational leadership and administration are carried out within a political context and are subject to the tensions, changes of direction and compromises that maintain political control or, on a higher plane, social cohesion. Politicians and those who work closely with them are, unfortunately, fallible and although, as Jessop suggests (2003, p.6), the sub-structures of governance operate in a context of 'negotiated decision-making', governments (or, more accurately, their leaders) seldom manage to resist pressures to intervene where political control is at risk. Inevitably, where the objects of governance and Metagovernance are set in such complicated and interconnected environments, this will result in some

failures. Once the inevitability of failure is accepted, a Metagovernance approach suggests it is necessary for governance actors to adopt what Jessop (2003) calls a 'satisficing approach' by:

- Identifying fallback outcomes which would be acceptable in the case of incomplete success, developing systems to identify imminent failures and considering the extent to which current actions are generating the desired outcomes.

- purposefully developing knowledge of what has worked in previous situations and a range ('requisite variety': *ibid*., p.101) of responses so that the elements of governance may be carried out to minimize the chances of failure, but also to be in a position to intervene in instances of potential failure or turbulence to improve outcomes before failure happens.

- developing a reflexive sense of 'irony' (but not cynicism) in that governance agents must be aware of the possibility of failure but act as if success were, if not certain, than at least possible. (p.7)

The first point is not far from the PDCA cycle or the more developed governance wheels of this thesis but one must remember the critically low national and authority scores for amendment and the use of evaluation. There is no evidence to suggest that the second has been regularly attempted in Scottish education and the evidence available to this thesis would not support a conclusion that this is the current posture of any governance layer. The third element is the most intriguing as some responses by nationally-experienced interviewees suggest it is possible that the First Triumvirate operates in this manner (but would not acknowledge it), but there is no evidence to suggest that this is the case in any other layer or sub-layer.

To carry out such a Metagovernance approach requires governance actors to create means by which information can be gathered to illuminate events, to understand what has previously happened and why it has (or has not) succeeded, to act on lessons previously learnt, to plan for further developments through self-critique and a realistic understanding of other governance actors' strengths, weaknesses and potentials, to be aware of potential failures and to plan interventions should these occur, to act flexibly and to involve other governance actors in flexible approaches, to resist blaming others or avoiding one's own responsibilities and to actively 'collibrate', i.e. flexibly mix different forms of governance (hierarchy, heterarchy and markets) , to achieve the best possible outcomes. This thesis demonstrates that such practices have not been common. There is little to lose, however, by MFL governance actors agreeing to act in greater harmony than before (but Stoker's dilemmas and 'blame' surface here) by attempting to adopt a Metagovernance approach, not least in persuading elite and key governance actors to: 'reflect on their failures, to adjust their projects, and to consider whether modes of governance should be modified.' (*ibid*, p.7). These, plus a satisficing approach, might at least *improve* both the governance of MFLs and the wider governance of Scottish education. Failures *may* be inevitable, but disaster should not be.

7.4 The Relation Between Governance Structures and Actions and the Apparent Deterioration in MFL Learning.

Question 4: How do these governance structures and actions relate to the apparent deterioration in modern foreign language learning in schools as illustrated in terms of enrolment, attainment and linguistic capacity?

Given the findings of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the overall answer appears to be that there is a very close correlation between the nature and effectiveness of governance, specifically the structures of governance and the actions of governance agents, and the deteriorations observed. There is clear evidence from these findings of repeated instances of lack of research, vision and amendment across governance levels, of changing priorities, of overlapping and conflicting initiatives and of a lack of consensus and common purpose within and across governance levels. This does not mean that there have not been successes or instances of good governance. These have occurred throughout the period but they have not been recognised or built upon.

Several specific points are worthy of consideration.

7.4.1 Vision and Policy for MFLs

Almost all respondents stated that the national MFL vision(s) - or, as a large minority suggested, lack of vision - has not been consistently clear or positive,

nor has it been consistently communicated to parents, learners, teachers or authority/school leaders. The modal answer to the question: 'Has there been a consistent vision for MFLs in Scotland?' was 'No'. As M0016 said, this is 'graphically clear' to an observer, given the largely optional nature of MFL courses and the 19 changes made to the status of primary and secondary MFLs since 1947 – a change every 3 years on average but, like so many other aspects of this study, a scenario where change has accelerated since the politicisation of educational governance with 14 of the 19 changes occurring since Forsyth. This fluctuating vision has generally been of a subject beyond a pupil's core learning experiences, except for 'the bookish minority' (SED, 1947, p.90).

On an individual basis, a majority of headteachers indicated that their local vision was either to 'run down' MFLs or 'leave them to market forces'. They gave two reasons for this: poor teaching by some/many MFL teachers and lack of pupil/parent interest and motivation. A minority of headteachers expressed the view that MFLs were deleterious to the attainment profile of the school, would influence HMI's view of school leadership and were therefore being minimised or eliminated. This seems to miss the point that their role involves accurately explaining the benefits of MFLs to parents and pupils, monitoring and improving the quality of teaching and learning and intervening where these are not satisfactory. The shutting down of departments seems analogous to the removal of 'turbulent' curricular agencies – not necessarily the most effective response to the issues identified.

As evidenced in the Internet survey of Chapter 1 and in some interviews, council visions for MFLs proved to be difficult to locate, either as documents or in the minds of senior council officers. A majority of directorate members sampled indicated that, although MFLs were a national priority (e.g. the 1+2 initiative), they were 'only one of many priorities' for their council and came (often well) after combatting deprivation and poor health, raising standards of literacy and numeracy, supporting pupils, achieving positive, sustained destinations. More controversially (but compliant with another Scottish Government Initiative), some added ensuring a supply of learners with ability in the Sciences, Technology and Social Subjects to the list of higher priorities. Most directorate members felt that this ordering of priorities was entirely appropriate and those with some knowledge of the history of MFLs' curricular status indicated that such a stance was not a departure from the long-term norm, rather 'Languages for All' had been something of a transient aberration. The only real exceptions to this came in two authorities where the director was acknowledged by other respondents to be 'pushing MFLs'.

National respondents fell into two groups, based on the Triumvirates. Those in the First Triumvirate, especially those associated with the Scottish government and civil service, strongly espoused MFLs and '1+2' in particular, although some felt that it did not need to be equally applied across all schools in an authority, thus (unknowingly?) echoing the views of the 1947 and 1959

Reports. Those associated with national agencies were more ambivalent about the importance of MFLs, unless directly involved with MFLs.

7.4.2 Curricular Status of MFLs

The curricular status of MFLs has fluctuated markedly, more or less in time with the vision for MFLs, since the 1960s in primary and since 1947 in secondary with various degrees of non-compulsion across P1 to S6. The 'Languages for All' policy, supposedly embracing all learners from P6 to S4, held sway from 1989 up to and (increasingly theoretically) beyond the millennium. However, according to both researchers (e.g. Johnstone, 1999; McPake *et al.* 1999) and respondents, at least some MFL teachers were no more welcoming to over a decade of high pupil uptake than they had been to pupils who arrived in MFL classes as a result of ROSLA and Comprehensivisation. From 1995 to 2002, sustained political flux left MFLs without vision or promotion and, in the only tangible outcome of Curriculum Flexibility, allowed individual headteachers to override what had been a (reasonably) coherent curriculum marshalled by council officers with some expertise in their field. The combined impacts of the removal of the SCCC curricular guidelines, the appearance of Circular 3/2001 and local authorities' and secondary schools' failure to see Citizens of a Multilingual World as more than a primary initiative effectively ended Languages for All by 2003-5. The appearance of Curriculum for Excellence from 2003 formalised this process by reducing MFLs to a P6 to S3 arrangement, with a growing minority of schools

- ignored or aided by their local authorities - not completing the S3 (or, in a few cases, S2-3) stage.

The final impact on MFLs of schools and authorities pursuing a 6-column structure in S4 of CfE remains to be determined, although initial figures from SQA suggest that the S4 uptake for MFLs has declined significantly. It is not yet clear is whether this is transient or longer-term, nor is it certain to what extent Higher and Advanced Higher MFLs will be reduced in subsequent years. School and authority respondents have been fairly homogeneous in seeing this further MFL downturn as long-term, with just over a half of headteachers suggesting that: 'we are headed for another significant dip in take up due to CFE' (M0036). Given the long-term decline of MFLs from the early 1960s until 2013, this impending decline does not suggest that MFL initiatives have been effective in improving attitude, uptake or attainment.

7.4.3 Governance of Strategic MFL Initiatives

As Sections 6.2 to 6.4 illustrate, the success rate applying to the governance of major educational initiatives impacting on MFLs has been poor. Of 21 initiatives, there have been 4 major and 6 partial successes, a success rate of 48%. It is worth examining these successes: two (O Grade and 'old' National Qualifications) were the children of SEB/SQA, one of the two national agencies less interfered with by the First Triumvirate than the curricular agency. A third (Higher Still) was a major initiative where a specialist agency , the Higher Still Development Unit, was established to govern the project.

Although highly contentious and surrounded by pressures from the First Triumvirate, unions and the press, respondents and commentators (e.g. Raffe & Howieson, 1998; Raffe, Howieson & Tinklin, 2000) suggest HSDU's two leaders completed their task more successfully than was the case with major changes managed directly by the First or Second Triumvirates. The fourth, the introduction of the Primary Memorandum derives from a UK and European but was effectively supervised by an Inspectorate still at its zenith.

These significant governance successes have been accompanied by 6 partial successes, 1 partial failure, 2 major failures and 5 initiatives which have wholly or largely been abandoned. The remaining 3 initiatives are too early in their courses to identify success or failure, although concerns have been expressed about each of them by agency, authority, school and union respondents alike. With some initiatives suffering from more than one of these issues, only 4 of 21 initiatives (19%) were largely or wholly successful, with the other 81% succumbing either to poor governance or to the 'Law of Unintended Consequences', itself arguably a result of poor governance.

A further indicator of poor governance is the extent of abandonment of major initiatives (24%), along with the number of partially successful successful whole/part-curriculum initiatives which have caused problems for MFLs (33%) and the number of simultaneous initiatives (19%)which have significantly interfered with another. The figures in this sub-section alone suggest that the effectiveness of governance has not been high. M0016's summation that

'some [initiatives] have been more successful than others but it would be difficult to point to highly successful ML initiatives' appears, from the analysis of Section 6.2 and its summation in Table 6.8 to be accurate. Given also that these 21 initiatives have generally been disjoint, with flurries of activity, significant periods of inaction (e.g. 1959-77, 2001-13), a lack of consistent, long-term vision, rationale and planning and a failure to induce genuine partnership across governance levels, the quality of governance appears low.

7.4.4 Who Measured the Ground? - Research and Evaluation

> Messenger: My Lord High Constable, the English lie within fifteen hundred paces of your tents.
> Constable: Who measured the ground?
>
> (Henry V, III, vii, 124-126).

The Constable's retort implies, understandably, that leaders should seek accurate sources for their supply of research and evaluation data to support the formulation, implementation and amendment of initiatives. That this has repeatedly not happened with MFL initiatives is not the 'fault' - a common word among respondents and a further example of Stoker's dilemmas in action - of SCILT, SQA or HMI(e) who, alone, have consistently provided accurate data on MFLs and so have 'measured the ground' effectively. Responsibility appears to lie with those - ministers, civil servants, agencies, local authorities or headteachers - who have not acted upon their findings.

Searches carried out for this thesis identified several hundred nationally-commissioned research papers spanning the last 30 years, of which only four examine MFL learning and teaching (all compiled by SCRE or SCILT). This void is unexpected, given the long-term issues surrounding MFLs. Local authorities and schools also have a poor track record of research, although *some* of these are stronger in terms of self and mutual evaluation. HMIe's involvement with MFLs before 1990 (despite collapsing uptake and attainment for 25 years, as acknowledged in the 1990 report) was limited to the 1969 Primary report, presumably because their then terms of engagement did not encourage subject-specific evaluation. Both the 1990 and 1998 HMI/HMIe reports were acknowledged by national governance agents and both resulted in campaigns to improve MFL uptake, learning, teaching and attainment. The first of these caused some impact, coming in an era when HMI possessed power and influence. The 1998 report criticised all layers of governance and was taken up by a vociferous press campaign, leading to Helen Liddell's direct establishment of the 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' (CoaMW) action group. National agency members (and some First Triumvirate members) ascribe the eventual lack of governmental engagement with HMIe's accurate and insightful CoaMW (HMIe, 2005a, 2005b) reports to HMIe's by-then-diminished reach and their resulting linkage to lower levels of civil servant. Many respondents, however, also commented that HMIe's style of relations with other governance groups has at times reduced the impact of its undoubtedly well-founded evaluations.

Chapter 8 Towards an Understanding of the Research Findings

8.1 Summary of Findings

8.1.1 Research Processes Carried Out

This study was carried our following the research design described in Chapter 3. Activities included historical and documentary analysis; statistical analysis of SEB/SQA, Scottish government and other statistics on MFL learner enrolments, MFL attainment, MFL course provision and MFL teacher availability; issue, retrieval and analysis of a governance questionnaire to 70 key and elite governance actors (drawn from across Scottish education in a purposive sample designed to provide effective coverage of all governance layers, agencies and local authorities, as well as incorporating decision makers with and without an MFL background), conduct, transcription and analysis of interviews with 40 elite and key governance actors and development of new methods of capturing,analysing and displaying the elements, actions and impact of governance through the development of 'governance wheels', mutli-factor politico-educational governance timelines and the use of Governance Theory (both Interpretavist and Realist).

These diverse sources, instruments and methods were combined in a two-stage MMR process providing depth, breadth and a necessarily long timescale through which the changing nature and effectiveness of the politico-educational governance of Scottish education may be assessed.

8.1.2 Summary Findings on the Nature and Effectiveness of MFL Governance

This study has resulted in a clear view of the nature of Scottish politico-educational governance as applied to MFLs but has also provided significant insights into the wider educational governace system as the structures, actors and elements of governance for MFLs are, in almost all circumstances, simply the wider system acting in one specific context.

The Nature of MFL Governance

Unlike the English system which always had a much stronger private sector and which has diversified significantly over the last few decades, the Scottish educational governance system remains mainly hierarchical, with some elements of heterarchy but (despite attempts in the 1980s) few aspects of market-based governance beyond some fundamental pupil/parent choice. Although subject to repeated changes over the last half century, the structure appears to be returning to something akin to its early 1960s configuration. It retains three hierarchical levels - national, council and school - but with more layers of governance agency: currently five, comprising the national, local authority, school leadership, and teacher layers, along with a loosely and changeably connected ‘cloud’ of other governance groups and actors. National agencies (e.g. SQA, LTS and GTCS), once essential to the First Triumvirate in a time of expansion and considerable pressure on the system, are now fewer in number as the First Triumvirate reabsorbs their functions, some of their staff and, of course, the powers which they had somewhat

unwillingly divested to them. Curricular agencies have particularly suffered during these changes.

National governance structures have assumed five distinct structural configurations over a 45-year cycle during the period of the study, local authorities three and schools two, although each layer has seen significant changes in its capacity for governance and in the agency of groups and individuals. Each level possesses considerable sub-structure, leading to complexities of interrelations within and across governance layers. These linkages have not been consistently effective. Governance and, in particular, the execution of policy is subject to considerable modification by layers, sub-layers and key individuals. In terms of a national structure for MFLs, there is very little. A very small team within the civil service Curriculum Unit is accompanied by one officer in Education Scotland with responsibility for the relevant curriculum area of Curriculum for Excellence and an HMACI (assistant chief inspector) and HMI whose previous roles were as national specialists in MFLs. It is understood from respondents that the role of HMI national specialist no longer exists for any subject area. There is no national committee or working party with responsibility for MFLs, other than the relevant examination team in SQA.

Both group and individual agency steer educational governance. group agency subscribes to the Asymmetric Power Model with power-rich and resource-rich groups having greatest control through a ‘consensus of elites’.

Groups with power do not, however, necessarily cause significant action and their impact is often surprisingly little. Individual agency is much more commonly the 'quiet agency' of local governance actors (e.g. headteachers, principal teachers, guidance teachers and MFL teachers) making local impacts than of 'elite' governance actors operating on a grand scale but these impacts can aggregate into significant eviations from national plans. Very few 'elite' actors have made an identifiable contribution to changing or improving MFL governance. Of these, Michael Forsyth stands out as, by some distance, the most influential. Ministers have generally left little mark on the system and periods of rapid turnover (e.g. 7 in 7 years around the Millenium) have seen policy drift and rapid changes of direction. There is general agreement among respondents that headteachers and education ministers dominate the governance landscape but others, including civil servants and MFL teachers, appear to be able to direct the outcomes of governance in ways which were not originaly intended. This appears partly due to an absence of consistent national/authority vision for MFLs, partly to poor research and planning and partly to failures to amend initiatives in the light of failures, colliding initiatives or consumer indifference.

The balance of the governance system has been seriously disturbed by the fluctuating internal balance of the First Triumvirate, the removal of the curricular part of the Second Triumvirate, the post-1996 decline in council vision, leadership and governance capacity and by the release of headteachers from prescriptive curricular arrangements. These changes

appear to have been accompanied at times by significant contention within and across governance levels.

Effectiveness of the MFL Governance System

The effectiveness of Scottish educational governance, particularly those aspects related to the governance of MFLs, cannot be said to have been consistently high. There have been clear successes and even limited periods of sustained success but these have not been built upon. In general, MFL governance has been inconsistent, non-cyclical, poorly researched and infrequently amended in the light of evaluation, challenging situations or failures. Scrutiny of the evidence from 21 major initiatives suggests that the closest Scottish politico-educational governance agents from the national layer appear to come to a 'standard process' is to: publicly launch an initiative (infrequently based on sound research, common consensus or known good practice), possibly abandon it at this point but possibly proceed to carry out limited piloting (the results of which are not always acted upon), provide variable quantities/quality of resourcing and training, inform councils and schools that they are now responsible for the successful implementation of the initiative, evaluate the initiative after a period (this is consistently well done by HMIe), then (sometimes) note the results of the evaluation and finally (unless a press or union campaign forces some improvements), after a respectable period, launch an entirely new initiative (whether the previous initiative has been successful or not) which will alost always not build on any strengths, or correct any weaknesses, in the previous inititaive.

Lawrie's (2007, p.116) comments (see section 2.4, p.92) on how successive Scottish governments have generated changing perceptions and priorities, unpredictability, collisions of professional practice and politics and contention in attempting to govern Scottish education agree with some of the findings of this thesis. Three phases of increasing politicisation, after the mid 1960s, after the mid 1980s and after devolution, aided and abetted by poorly conceived and executed local government changes, have resulted in increasing centralisation, an increasing pace of change - at times unsustainably so (e.g. around 2000) - and have resulted in a succession of failures and difficulties in improvement programmes, mixed messages and policies for MFLs and inconsistent educational governance at the national, local authority and school levels. Lawrie's 'collisions' are evident throughout Chapters 4 to 6, both through party politics and governance rivalries and also as curricular policy, practice and initiatives have overlapped and collided, apparently unintentionally. Such collisions resonate with Stoker's dilemmas, not least in their generation of complexity, failures, unpredictable outcomes and mutual blame.

McPherson and Raab (1988) suggested that Scotland is small enough to quite like centralisation *if* it produces acceptable solutions. However, the educational governance system is surprisingly complex and bureaucratic (see Figures 4.5 to 4.9), although the three nested hierarchies have functioned well at times. The system bears the marks of a century of attempted

improvements and the scars of some failures. The most obvious concerns lie in the fluctuating internal power balance and partial dismantling of the national layer, the weakening of the council layer, the weakness and variability of linkages within and between layers, the general ineffectiveness of representative groups such as COSLA and ADES and the (presumably) unintended national moves which led to the disappearance of many of the checks and balances traditionally constraining the actions of headteachers. In an MFL-specific context, these concerns are increased by a lack of consistent vision, curricular status or qualifications rationale. A large minority of respondents suggest that the weakened council layer is an obvious target for a centralist SNP government to replace with a national education service, as per the fire and police services.

Neither the national nor the council level appears, at present, fully 'fit for purpose'. The lack of a national curriculum agency or associated subject support structures, the partial but significant hold which SQA maintains over the curriculum, the diminished and unbalanced First Triumvirate where civil servants are left to moderate and interpret an increasingly powerful and centralist Scottish Government's policies, the reduction of the Inspectorate's specialist influence and the almost complete disappearance of national curricular specialists and removal of HMI national subject specialists all appear to seriously undermine the national layer.

Issues of ineffectiveness do not solely lie in the national layer, however, as their issues are balanced by (variably) diminished local authorities, some of which struggle to maintain developmental and evaluative capacity and/or lack breadth and depth of 'mainstream' educational experience within their directorates. Councils' attempts to improve this are not helped by historically poor mutual support for development processes through ADES and by their historically indifferent relations with the national layer, despite ADES' current CfE links with the civil service Curriculum Unit. Although McPherson and Raab's description of 'departmental [SED] distrust of local control often bordering on contempt' (1988, p. 47) refers to the earlier part of this study's timescale, respondents indicate that this phenomenon has not entirely disappeared. Likewise, headteacher, depute and principal teacher leadership and governance are by no means consistent across schools, particularly with respect to MFLs. As governance actors, headteachers remain awkwardly balanced astride the gap between the authority and school layers, looking in two directions and serving several masters but their ability to enhance or, more commonly, suppress MFLs is much increased.

Of 21 MFL-impacting major initiatives attempted since 1962, only 4 (19%) have been significant successes with 6 partial successes producing 48% success in total. These have been accompanied by 2 major failures, 1 partial failure and 5 abandoned initiatives (38% failure in total, with 24% arising from abandonments). 19% of initiatives have clashed with other initiatives causing problems for MFLs and, at times, wider aspects of the curriculum. The remaining three initiatives are still too new to predict success or failure,

although clashes are already apparent. Alongside policy and initiatives, the rationale for qualifications provision is unclear but appears not to be effectively linked to political, educational or educational rationales.

The overall impact of the issues described may be seen as a significant erosion of effectiveness over the timescale of this study, in terms of the strength, diversity and capacity of governance structure, the altered national governance balance, the decline of the Second Triumvirate and the historical - and seemingly continuing - decline in MFL vision, uptake and attainment. Too-rapidly changing structures have repeatedly generated instability and increased complexity, leaving governance actors at all levels of the sytem in challenging and, occasionally, untenable situations. The increased pace of un-researched, under-planned, overlapping and under-evaluated (or, more accurately, well evaluated by HMIe and sometimes by schools but subsequently under-used by governments and councils) initiatives has damaged both continuity and consensus, leading to conflict of purpose, abandonment of initiatives and unintended outcomes. The well-intentioned '1+2' initiative might have been hoped to resolve some issues of the past but its clash with CfE and the difficulties inherent in implementing '1+2' are already apparent, signalling 'business as usual' rather than a new beginning.

Good Governance?

Scottish educational governance is neither based on a consensus of governance actors nor is it a meritocracy, but rather the 'consensus of elites'

and ‘overlapping self interests’ described by M0016, M0021 and others. Given the obstacles experienced in accessing some parts of the governance system for this thesis, it would be difficult to assert that transparency was widespread in the national layer. However, individual First and (particularly) Second Triumvirate officers were generally very open in their testimony, as were authority and school respondents. Some aspects of MFL governance have consistently been efficiently handled (e.g. SQA‘s stewardship of examinations (despite 2000), HMIe’s analysis of performance in MFLs) but others (e.g. the management of curricular initiatives, the development of an MFL vision, the rationale for the languages taught in Scotland) have not been consistently effective, efficient, equitable or transparent.

The management of Agencies and NDPBs has been erratic, particularly with respect to curricular agencies and the Inspectorate; there were also major issues in the Scottish Qualifications Authority in 2000. The restructuring of local government structures has consistently been suspect and this, along with fiscal management issues (e,g. the Concordat, the management of CoaMW funding) has undermined local authorities’ ability to maintain ‘an effective and efficient’ education service, let alone ensure improvement. Respondents saw management by authorities as generally good to very good during the regional era but less so since 1996, although my findings concur with those respondents who see examples of good practice in some councils. The management of schools is generally positively described by HMI, albeit

with some considerable variability and that variability was apparent through several aspects of my research.

Beneficiaries (e.g. pupils and parents) are, in the case of pupils, not generally engaged in governance at any level other than the classroom. Parents have formal and informal mechanisms for involvement in the governance of schools, although used by a minority, and much more limited means of involvement at council or national level (although the civil service Curriculum Unit has an officer whose specific remit includes parental consultation).

Ultimately, the outcomes of governance processes are crucial, in the case of education, to the future careers and wellbeing of learner-beneficiaries. Given the decline evident in course availability, course uptake and attainment, these could not be said to be a success. Thus, seen against Frederickson's (2004) principles for good governance, while there are significant examples of aspects of governance which *have* been good, either temporarily or on a longer-term basis, the combined impact of these factors is to suggest that Scottish MFL governance has not been 'good'.

A 'wicked problem' of governance?

Renton (2009) suggested that the governance of MFLs might constitute a 'wicked problem' of governance. Rittel and Webber's (1973, p. 160) previously discussed definition of such problems sees them as complex problems displaying high resistance to resolution and notes that 'wicked'

problems are often faced by governments and/or other organisations whose theoretical base is inadequate for effective forecasting of trends and developments, whose information (including research) base is insufficient for the task and whose officers are faced by too many (probably changing) objectives set out by rapidly-changing political bodies (local and national). The Australian Public Service Commission report (ASPC, 2007) on wicked problems in public policy which suggests that such problems are highly complex and resistant to resolution, possibly beyond the skills base and organisational capacity of the agencies drawn together to face the problem, difficult to define concisely and usually evident in situations of multiple interdependency. They also suggest that wicked problems are often subject to multiple causes, based on rapidly-evolving policy or legislation (and thus unstable), are beset by chronic (and, at times, serial) policy failure and prone to unintended consequences, since the measures introduced to solve one aspect of the problem may create unimagined problems in other aspects.

The findings of Chapters 4 to 6 demonstrate that, although there have been exceptions, the previous paragraph provides a generally accurate description of MFL governance. The extent of correlation between the issues identified by Rittel and Webber and APSC, by Stoker and Jessop and by Duit and Galaz – all of whom are engaged in the study of intractable governance problems - and the issues identified in Chapters 4 to 6 of this study is very high and thus suggests that the problem of MFL governance, regrettably, satisfies the definition of a wicked governance problem.

8.2 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

Strengths and limitations were considered in Section 3.4: those considered here are extensions of issues raised there in the light of completing the study..

8.2.1 Value of the Methodology

The use of a Mixed Research approach worked well, supporting qualitative and quantitative aspects and enabling integration of multiple data sources to explain the growth and change of educational governance structures and agency and their application to MFL developments and initiatives. The use of Pragmatism as the principal paradigm, with some use of Critical Realism and Interpretivism when dealing with Governance Theory and interviewees, has also worked well, supporting a 'real-world', problem-centred approach to the nature and effectiveness of governance which has combined a theoretical view of governance with a practice-orientated approach highlighting actions and consequences and a statistical examination of inputs and outputs to governance, thus examining Scottish educational governance in a broader, more detailed context than has previously been possible.

8.2.2 Validity and Reliability

From Golafshani's (2003) study of academic views on reliability and validity, the reliability of the results of this study is high as the SQA statistical data used consists of the entire populations of data on the various discrete MFL qualifications (other than for the period 1962-1964 but no inferences are drawn about this period), the questionnaires produced significant similarities of

response within governance groups across the whole period of research (as questionnaires and interviews were carried out in phases throughout the study) and effectively highlighted the consistent similarities and differences between governance groups. The governance wheels produced parallel responses within governance groups and again demonstrated consistent similarities and differences between groups. Interviews were carried out to a standard script (with a limited set of additional questions for groups of respondents with specific sets of knowledge and expertise). Again, interviews produced significant consistencies of response. The use of triangulation during research phases allowed inconsistencies in responses across instruments to be identified and acted/reported upon, although such instances were few and the results from different instruments and approaches tended to be mutually confirming to a significant degree. These instruments have proved reliable across a two-year period and across 70 governance actors drawn from the upper three governance layers. This should be replicable if similar methodology is employed.

Validity is also high within this study and the results have provided the rounded view of governance sought. Member checking has been employed to test whether the results found actually measured the nature and effectiveness of governance and whether they provide an accurate picture of these. The views of respondents (12) contacted and provided with a summary of the findings have been very positive – the almost unanimous response (with one respondent slightly disagreeing with aspects of the findings on their own layer

of governance) has been that the findings are important and should form the basis of future steps to improve the quality of educational governance and to address the MFL problem. Two academic seminars and two conference presentations have also been made on significant subsets of the findings. Three specific presentations have also been made to a group of First Triumvirate members, to a group of headteachers and to a mixed group of macro- and meso-level governance actors. Audience feedback has been very positive.

8.2.3 Lack of Prior Research

No previous study of Scottish educational governance has attempted to make such a detailed study of the macro- and meso-governance layers. As a result, there are few similar studies with which to compare it: McPherson and Raab (1988), the Bryce and Humes *Scottish Education* series (although there are no detailed studies of specific governance areas, rather a medium-depth analysis of the entire range of Scottish educational governance) and a few theses such as Campbell's (1999) study of DSM and Doughty's (2005) study of MFLs in tertiary education. This makes it easier to make a novel contribution to research but deprives this thesis of other sets of thoughts against which to test key findings. Where such research does exist, however, my findings fit well with previous research. The substantial number of interviews (40), although carried out to tap a breadth and depth of governance insight, also provided a further 'sounding board', given the academic and professional status of a number of the interviewees.

8.3 An Agenda for Further Research

Researching the Effectiveness of Scottish Educational Governance

This study can act as a catalyst for a set of parallel curricular governance studies to ascertain if there are similar problems of governance in some or all aspects of the curriculum. Given the findings about all three levels of governance, there is also clearly a possibility for studies of specific governance layers and their issues and successes.

This study has also taken a small step towards unifying research into the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of educational governance. However, it will take much more work to bring together the three levels, to develop a wider research culture in Scottish education and thus to begin to provide information which will allow genuine, consensual improvement to take place. There is obvious potential for comparative studies of educational governance strategies, practice and outcomes across countries.

My own personal research priorities will be to:

a) Publish a set of papers linked to this thesis
b) Develop and disseminate an ‘effective governance toolkit’
c) Research the reasons for the distorted shape of governance apparent in this study, concentrating on local authorities and national governance.

8.5 Conclusion

There has been no in-depth study of the *governance* of Scottish education since Humes in 1986 and McPherson and Raab in 1988, although the Bryce and Humes series (1999, 2003, 2008, 2013) has provided both considerable breadth and specific insights. The time, therefore, was right to carry out an in-depth study.

This study has fulfilled two purposes. In carrying out an in-depth study of the governance of a troubled area of the curriculum, its politico-educational governance and the fates of the people, organisations and initiatives designed to improve it, it has, I believe, provided considerable food-for-thought for governance agents in leading roles who are considering attempting to improve specific aspects of education. However, by using MFLs as a lens through which to examine the workings of wider political and educational governance systems in Scotland, it has also illuminated not merely the strengths and weaknesses of the system but some significant (and worrying) trends that have not been fully reported by other commentators.

In carrying out these tasks, this study has attempted to provide evidence to assist all those attempting to improve the quality of education and its governance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Authorities and Schools Sampled to Ascertain the Extent of Positive Information Regarding MFLs

To discover if the educational benefits resulting from involvement with MFLs had been explained to pupils and parents, in December 2013 I sampled 42 school handbooks (2 schools from each of 21 authorities: 11% of schools and 67% of Scottish authorities) and 14 sets of course choice documentation, a smaller number because these are less evident on school websites. I also examined the websites of the 16 authorities sampled.

Existence of Positive Information on MFLs						
Education Authority	EA Website		School 1		School 2	
Aberdeen City	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Aberdeen Grammar No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	Bridge of Don Academy No ML advice on website or in prospectus; ML Faculty section had no information.	✖
Aberdeenshire	No ML links or advice. No MFL policy in policy list.	✖	Banchory Academy A few helpful ML links in ML Dept. section of on website but no advice. No ML advice in prospectus.	✖	Mackie Academy Strong careers section but no specific ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
Angus	No ML links or advice. No MFL documents in extensive parental documentation. No ML policy evident.	✖	Carnoustie HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	Forfar Academy No ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
Clackmannanshire (& Stirling)	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Alva Academy No ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	Lornshill Academy No ML advice on website or in prospectus; ML Faculty section had no information.	✖
Dumfries & Galloway	No ML links or advice. No MFL policy in policy list.	✖	Dumfries Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	Castle Douglas HS No ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖

East Ayrshire	No ML links or advice. 92 small pages on MLPS and community language support) No ML policy evident.	✖	Kilmarnock Academy No ML advice on in prospectus; unstructured website with no MFL advice or info.	✖	Cumnock Academy A few helpful ML links in ML Dept. section of on website but no advice. Nothing in prospectus.	✖
East Dunbartonshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Bearsden Academy No ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	St. Ninian's HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖
East Renfrewshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Eastwood HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	St. Ninian's HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus. Some positive material in MFL dept. section.	✔
Falkirk	No ML links or advice. (No ML policy evident (but Gaelic Plan).	✖	Larbert HS No ML advice on in prospectus but statement of advantages in departmental section.	✔	Graeme HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
Fife	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Inverkeithing HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	Balwearie HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
Glasgow	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	St. Andrew's Secondary No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus. No ML policy in policy list.	✖	Hillhead HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus. No ML policy in policy list.	✖
Highland	No ML links or advice. No ML policy in policy list.	✖	Dornoch Academy French in core: S1-S4, but no ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	Inverness HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus. Only 1 ML teacher.	✖
Inverclyde	No ML links or advice. No ML policy in policy list.	✖	Inverclyde Academy French in core: S1-S4, but no ML advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	Notre Dame Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖
Moray	No ML links or advice. No MFL documents in parental documentation or Skills section. No ML policy evident.	✖	Elgin Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	Forres Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖

North Lanarkshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Dalziel HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	Cardinal Newman HS 3 Spanish links in ML Dept. section of on website but no advice. No advice in prospectus.	✖
Orkney	No ML links or advice. MLPS policy in fourth layer of website. No secondary ML policy evident.	✔	Kirkwall Grammar A few helpful ML links in ML Dept. section of on website but no advice. No advice in prospectus or ML policy in policy list.	✖	Stromness Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info. or publications list.	✖
Perth & Kinross	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Kinross HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info. ML Dept. site under construction.	✖	Crieff HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖
Renfrewshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident. No MFL documents in parental documentation set.	✖	Renfrew HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖	St. Andrew's Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖
Scottish Borders	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Peebles HS No ML links or advice on website, or prospectus and despite extensive course choice info.	✖	Jedburgh Grammar No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus or course choice info.	✖
South Lanarkshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Lanark Grammar No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖	Calderside Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
West Dunbartonshire	No ML links or advice. No ML policy evident.	✖	Dumbarton Academy No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus. Short positive statement in MFL dept. section.	✔	Our Lady & St. Patrick's HS No ML links or advice on website or in prospectus.	✖
TOTALS	No mention of MFLs: 20 MLPS policy apparent: 1		No positive MFL message: 39 Limited positive MFL message: 3			

In the authorities and schools sampled, no school handbook conveyed any of these educational benefits to pupils or parents. Only one of the 42 school websites attempted to explain any part of the benefits claimed by the Excellence Report) and two others gave minor positive mentions of MFL

resources or activities. None of the 16 authority websites promoted the benefits of MFLs (or any other curricular aspects except, occasionally, literacy, numeracy and music). In general, local authority websites do not provide educational information for parents and pupils. Where this happens, it tends to come in the form of one-page summaries or links to the Education Scotland website.

A parent or pupil seeking advice or information would be unlikely to follow multiple pathways in breadth and depth through the sites and documents which I exmined. The number of easily accessible, positive, high-level messages about MFLs on any of the sites was zero.

Appendix 2 Literature Review – Criteria Used

Sources Used

A number of databases were searched: the British Education Index, ERIC (despite a lengthy period when ERIC declined to download any papers due to a crisis relating to stored personal information), the EThOS thesis database at the British Library, SCOPUS, the Social Science Citation Index, Web of Knowledge, Web of Science and Google Scholar. The Dundee University library search systems were used to further enhance this where necessary. Data was also sourced from UK and Scottish Government Websites and from relevant organisations such as CILT, DfES, HMIe, LTS/ES, SCILT and SQA. As well as the ICT-based database searches noted above, papers were accessed from Taylor & Francis Online, Wiley Online Library and individual university libraries and websites in the UK and the USA and, on one occasion, directly from an Australian author.

Having a background of practitioner experience in the field of education and having previous study and research experience, both in education and in governance of strategic educational projects, I was also familiar with a range of seminal authors and papers and bought/borrowed these specifically, where these did not appear in electronic searches and/or I did not already possess copies, to act as a further set of points from which to expand my search, studying their citations and developing a citation framework for the review.

Specifically, I augmented my large collection of Scottish educational policy and advice papers to ensure that I possessed the necessary set for the period of this study. I also acquired, largely thanks to several SQA officers, the full set of SQA enrolment and attainment data for MFLs for the period 1965 to date. The period 1962 to 1964 had been managed by HMI and these data were not available. A significant part of the MFL teacher employment data was available from the Scottish government website

Criteria for inclusion and exclusion

Due to the extensive nature of the field of Governance Theory and since members of the UK, US, Australasian, Dutch and Scandinavian schools of governance largely publish in English, the governance aspects of my searches were limited initially to journal papers, published and unpublished research papers/reports, books, theses, conference papers and presentations, policy papers, organizational and governmental reports and relevant ICT-based sources written in English from 2000 to 2012 in order to keep the focus on recent and current thinking. Exceptions were made, however, for a very small number of books and papers in French and German where my *reasonably* sound French and bearable (with some assistance from *mein taschenworterbuch*) German were used for direct translation. Early analysis of citations from the initial sample of documents made it clear that some of the key articles relating to governance theory and educational governance came from the period from 1980 to 2000. Therefore, literature on these topics written prior to 2000 was then also included.

Given that the prime focus of the educational aspects of the exercise lay in Scotland, albeit in a UK context, I again decided to access only journal papers, published and unpublished academic papers, books, theses, educational policy papers and relevant ICT-based resources written in English. In general, papers on UK and/or Scottish education were considered for the governance aspect, although some relevant parallel developments in Australia, Europe, the US and Asia were considered. Again, some exceptions were made, mostly for texts and papers in French on Languages policy, practice and proficiency. These were drawn almost exclusively from European Union or UNESCO sources on education. If possible these were located in English translation form but aspects of a few were translated directly from French. The entire time period from 1945 to 2013 was considered in sourcing official documentation, as the relevant policy documents, research reports, inspection reports and reports on qualifications and attainment are all spread throughout the period considered.

There is no available research relating directly to the *governance* of modern foreign language learning in Scotland, although there is a little relating to the outcomes of that governance. There have been a few examples of papers on aspects of the governance of other strategic initiatives in Scotland or where consideration of Scotland was given as part of the overall analysis of a UK strategic theme. These have also been considered as part of the literature review.

Table App2.1: Inclusion Criteria

Inclusion Criteria	Reasons
Literature written in English.	Difficulties with translation and ensuring accuracy in translation. Lack of time and resources for translation to be undertaken.
Overall number of source documents kept to less than 600.	To permit management of the volume of papers found.
Governance documents from 2000 to 2012, but with key papers from before 2000.	To ensure that current practice and theory was prominent as this is a developing field, However key (and still relevant) documents written before 2000 were included. Very few documents were considered from the period before 1985.
Educational documents from the period between 1945 and 2012 .	To ensure that all key educational governance (policy, planning, implementation, evaluation and review) actions and actors in Scotland (and where essential beyond) relating to the period were considered.
Modern foreign language documents from the period between 1962 and 2012.	As above in the context of modern foreign languages.
Published and unpublished papers (journal papers, conference papers, university research papers not yet published elsewhere, conference presentations, unpublished papers).	It was inappropriate to assume that all information relevant to the topic had been published (especially in related, developing fields). I located a number of relevant papers which were then unpublished. I acquired these either directly from the author, from organisations or via internet connections.
Research studies including theses and dissertations.	To identify relevant recent and current research, both published and unpublished.
Policy, formal evaluation and government documents on educational governance and languages.	Key sources of information on what was planned and “what worked”. These provided insights into government/agency focus and direction relating to the topics considered.

Books	There is a relative lack of research literature in the field of governance of strategic educational initiatives and specifically in the context of the strategic project on modern foreign languages in Scotland. Books proved to be a useful source of discursive and research literature relevant to my topic. A significant part of the research on governance appears only in book form within edited collections of governance research
Websites, web archives and other ICT-based resources	Websites for significant actors, supporters and evaluators relevant to the topics considered. Some research material was available only in web archive form. On-line media reports are also relevant to several aspects of the review

Table App2.2: Exclusion Criteria

Exclusion Criteria	**Reasons**
Literature written in languages other than English, other than essential texts not available in English	Difficulties with translation and ensuring accuracy in translation. Lack of time and finance for translation to be undertaken. A few, key exceptions made.
Literature on clinical, corporate, ICT, transnational or other specialist forms of governance not specifically relevant to educational governance	Although some insights from these areas are useful and relevant, the sheer volume of 'mainstream' governance material prevented searches of these fields. There was also a danger that the focus would shift from the five prime areas noted earlier.
Literature on governance of further or higher education, including specific evaluation of modern foreign languages	For the reasons given above. However, two exceptions were made where I considered the linkage with school-based education gave valuable insights into the school situation.

Approach

Using Slavin's (2008) 'Best Evidence' approach, keyword searches were used with combinations of terms designed to bring out the key arguments in the field. Searches were also carried out in educational governance and Scottish educational governance, although producing far fewer results due to the limited research in these fields. Parallel processes were employed in examining modern foreign language policy, governance and learning, moving towards a more detailed focus on (UK and) Scottish MFL policy, implementation, outcomes and governance. Initial keyword combinations included:

- Governance (very large return - for initial scoping of the field)
- Governance AND theory
- Governance AND good
- Governance AND wicked
- Governance AND education (large return – for initial scoping)
- Governance AND Scottish
- Governance AND Scottish AND education
- Governance AND Languages (also Modern Languages)
- Management AND Scottish education
- Leadership AND Scottish education

These searches were then refined with further Boolean AND and OR clauses to identify key papers. I also used frequency and mutuality of citation as touchstones to identify key texts and research/policy communities.

APPENDIX 3 List of Ministers Responsible for Scottish Education: 1962-2014

Minister	Party	Period in Office	Dates
Michael Noble	Conservative	2 years	1962-64
Judith Hart	Labour	1.5 years	1964-66
Bruce Millan	Labour	4 years	1966-70
Teddy Taylor	Conservative	2 years	1970-72
Hector Monro	Conservative	2 years	1972-74
Robert Hughes	Labour	1.5 years	1974-75
Frank McElhone	Labour	4 years	1975-79
Alex Fletcher	Conservative	4 years	1979-83
Allan Stewart	Conservative	3 years	1983-86
John MacKay	Conservative	1 year	1986-87
Michael Forsyth	Conservative	2 years	1987-89
Ian Lang	Conservative	1 year	1989-90
Michael Forsyth	Conservative	2 years	1990-92
Lord James Douglas-Hamilton	Conservative	3 years	1992-95
Raymond Robertson	Conservative	2 years	1995-97
Brian Wilson	Labour	1 year	1997-98
Helen Liddell	Labour	0.5 years	1998-99
Sam Galbraith	Labour	1.5 years	1999-00
Jack McConnell	Labour	1 year	2000-01
Cathy Jamieson	Labour	1.5 years	2001-03
Peter Peacock	Labour	3.5 years	2003-06
Hugh Henry	Labour	0.5 years	2006-07
Fiona Hyslop	SNP	2.5 years	2007-09
Michael Russell	SNP	4.8 years (to date)	2009-??

APPENDIX 4: Anonymous Categorisation of Key Governance Actor Sample by Region and/or Agency

N.B. Since the Scottish educational governance system is small, the respondents have been grouped into areas corresponding to the former regional authorities, rather than the current unitary authorities, in order to preserve the anonymity of respondents. Likewise, agency and other respondents have been grouped. The 70 listed agreed to participate and were thus sent questionnaires. Of these, 14 failed to reply.

Area or Agency	Posts Involved	Total Number of Respondents
Borders	-	0
Central	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	8
Dumfries and Galloway	Officers; heads/deputes	1
Fife	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	4
Grampian	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	7
Highland	Officers; heads/deputes	1
Lothian	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	4
Orkney	-	0
Shetland	-	0
Strathclyde	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	12
Tayside	Directorate/officers; heads/deputes	11
W. Isles	-	0
First Triumvirate Components	All 3 components	9
Second Triumvirate Agencies	All 3 components, plus minor agencies	5
Tertiary Education	Universities and colleges	4
Unions		1
Parents, Business		3
Total		70

Breakdown by governance layer: National 18, E.A. 22, School 26, Cloud 4

Appendix 5 Sample Questionnaire for Governance Actors

[Thank you for agreeing to participate in the above-named thesis by completing this 5-question questionnaire. It has a set of 3 "tick-box" questions (10-ish minutes), followed by two sets of more open-ended questions (usually about 20-25 minutes). Please tick the appropriate boxes and/or enter the appropriate numbers or letters in the first 3 questions

Your response to this document is anonymous and will only be used as part of a group of data to ascertain trends and patterns over a large number of respondents.]

Questionnaire/Interview Code (to be pre-recorded on questionnaire)

Code	POL:N	POL:L	CVS:N	**AGNC**	EA:DR	**EA:OF**	HT:SE	TU/Acad	**#M000X**

1. Ability of Governance Actors to Support and Promote Modern Foreign Languages

Please rank the following governance 'actors' in order of importance in supporting and promoting MFL learning and also in having the power/control to do it. Please enter the relevant letter (a – j) in boxes 1-10. 1 implies the most influence; 10 the least influence.

Please choose from:

(a) Parents, (b) MFL Teachers, (c) Headteachers, (d) Directors of Education, (e) Councillors, (f) MSPs, (g) Scottish Government, (h) UK Government, (i) teaching trades unions, (j) Scottish companies.

Ability to Support and Promote MFL:	**Extent of Power/Control over MFL:**
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10

2. Current Governance Roles in Developing Primary & Secondary Modern Foreign Languages in Scotland

Please rate the following **governance** 'actors' on the following scale:

Categories of Governance Actor	**Less Influence On Governance** ⟷ **More Influence on Governance**					
(Please tick the box which best represents your view of the influence of each 'actor' on MFL in Scotland.)	**None**	**Very Little influence**	**A little Influence**	**Quite a bit of Influence**	**Significant influence**	**Very significant influence**
National and Local Authority (LA) Political Actors						
UK Government						
Scottish Government						
Cab. Sec. for Education						
Governing party MSPs						
Opposition MSPs						
LA: Education Convener						
Councillors (in power)						
Councillors (in opposition)						
Bureaucratic Actors						
Senior SED civil servants						
Other SED civil servants						
Agency Actors						
HMSCI/Head of Edn. Scot.						
HMCI (Curriculum/Sec./Pr.)						
HMI (Language Specialist)						
Other HMIs						
Other ES personnel						
Chief Executive of SQA						
SQA S.M.T. members						
SQA MFL Manager(s)						
Head of SCILT						
Local Education Authority (LEA) Professional Actors						
Chief Executive						
Corporate Manage't Team						
Director of Edn. (/equival't)						
Head of Edn. (/equivalent)						
Other Directorate members						
MFL Curriculum Officer(s)						
School-Level Actors						
Pupils						
Parents						
The Parent Council						
The school community						
Headteacher (HT)						
DHT with respon. for MFL						
Other SMT members						
Timetabler						
Fac. Head MFL (if exists)						
PT MFL (if exists)						
MFL teachers						

Other Governance Actors						
Universities						
FE Colleges						
Teaching Unions						
Scottish Companies						
Other (please specify):						

3. Extent of Action and Impact by Governance Actors with respect to Improving MFLs

Please enter 0-4 against each of the twelve aspects of governance for the extent of action AND the extent of impact by:

- National MFL governance actors (politicians, civil servants and agencies)
- Local Authority governance actors (councillors, directorate and MFL QIOs/CDOs)
- School governance actors (HTs and DHTs/Faculty Heads– but not MFL teachers)

Key:

0 – No action/impact
1 – Little action/impact
2 – Medium action/impact
3 – Major action/impact
4 – Extensive action/impact

[It is OK to enter, say, 2.3 or 2.5 if you feel that the action/impact is at a point between two discrete values.]

Aspects of Governance	**National**		**Local Authority**		**School**	
	Extent Of Action	Extent Of Impact	Extent Of Action	Extent Of Impact	Extent Of Action	Extent Of Impact
Leadership						
Research						
Planning						
Consultation						
Policy						
Development						
Training						
Resourcing						
Management						
Implementation						
Evaluation						
Amendment						

4a. MFL Governance: Strategic Planning, Development, Evaluation & Leadership
(Please examine the supplied **Table 6.1** which shows **major strategic developments** related to MFL and SOME key governance actions and actors)

In your opinion, which of these campaigns have led to improvements in MFL?
What factors do you believe have led to any improvements?

4b. MFL Issues #3: MFL Governance Structures, Processes and Actors
(Please examine Tables 1-3 which show the major strategic campaigns, key governance actors in MFLs and possible governance structures)

From your own knowledge and experience, how has the cycle of Planning, Development, Implementation, Evaluation and Amendment (to improve the next cycle) of MFL initiatives been governed and by whom? Has it been effective?
How would you describe the governance structure(s) for MFLs? As a hierarchy, a 'market process', a set of networks, a combination of these or some other structure? Please explain.
What would you describe as the positive aspects of the current governance structures and processes for MFLs?

What would you describe as the less positive (or negative) aspects of the current governance structures and processes for MFLs?
Are the governance interrelationships in MFLs, linking individuals and groups at national, local authority and school levels, equally balanced or do some dominate? Please explain your answer.

4c. Other Issues in MFL

Do all key governance actors (governments, councils, headteachers, MFL departments, etc.) place sufficient emphasis on the learning of foreign languages? Why is this?

Thank you very much for participating in this survey as this forms an essential part of the data from your interview and of the evidence base for my research.

Jim Scott

August 2013.

APPENDIX 6 Sample List of Question Areas for Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Governance Actors

[N.B. Question areas will come from those shown below. However, you may open up contexts which may be explored further with your agreement.]

A MFL – Governance: From Vision to Reality

- Is there/has there been a clear vision for MFL in Scottish schools?
- Has this been consistently carried through at national/authority/school levels?
- How effective have major development programmes been?
- What has been the impact of Research and Evaluation?
- Has this/should this have been a Cyclical Process? Do we learn from what went before?

B MFL – Governance: Structure vs Agency

- How would you describe the structure of educational/MFL governance?
- Are there asymmetries of power? Does this imply aspects of hierarchy?
- Who is "Inside the (MFL Governance) Tent"? Does this change?
- What has been the influence of "Elite Actors": who and to what extent?
- What is the balance of Structure and Agency? Does this change?

C MFL – Key Governance Groups/Individuals: Roles and Actions

- How well-governed (1962-2012) were/are MFLs? Details:
    - Scottish Office/Executive/Government: continuity (especially from 1990 to 2005) of vision/roles & actions?
    - Civil Service: continuity, structure, responsibilities, roles and actions?
    - Agencies: roles and actions: specifically, roles of HMI, SQA and SCCC/LTS/ES?
    - Local Authorities: councillors, corporate teams, directorate teams, QIOs: [Pre and post 'unitarisation'?? in 1996]
    - Role and Influence of HTs (and HT organisations)?
    - Role and influence of trades unions?
    - Availability of staff?
- How well do these national/EA/school governance groups co-operate? And the level of contention?

D Effectiveness of Local Authorities and Schools

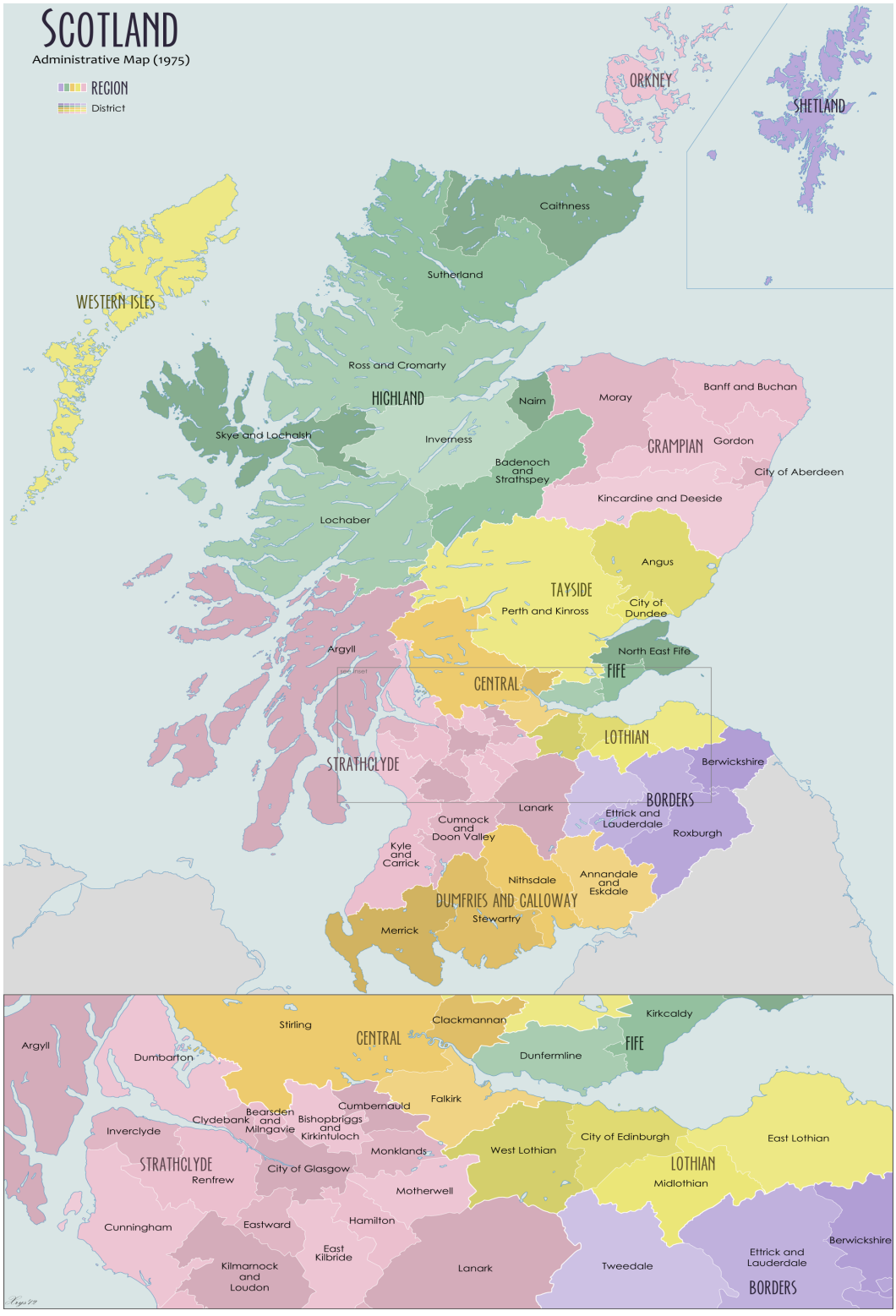
- To what extent have MFLs been a focus in local authorities?
- How well/consistently has this been carried across and within authorities: consistency?
- Are you aware of councilor, CEO or director support for MFLs on a consistent basis?
- What do you see as the balance of headteacher support for/apathy about/rejection of MFLs?

E MFL – Nature of the Problem? (to be asked last)

- Why is there an MFL problem?
- MFLs: Place in the Curriculum should be ….?
- Factors assisting/inhibiting MFL enrolment and attainment?
- Factors assisting/inhibiting governance and success in MFLs?

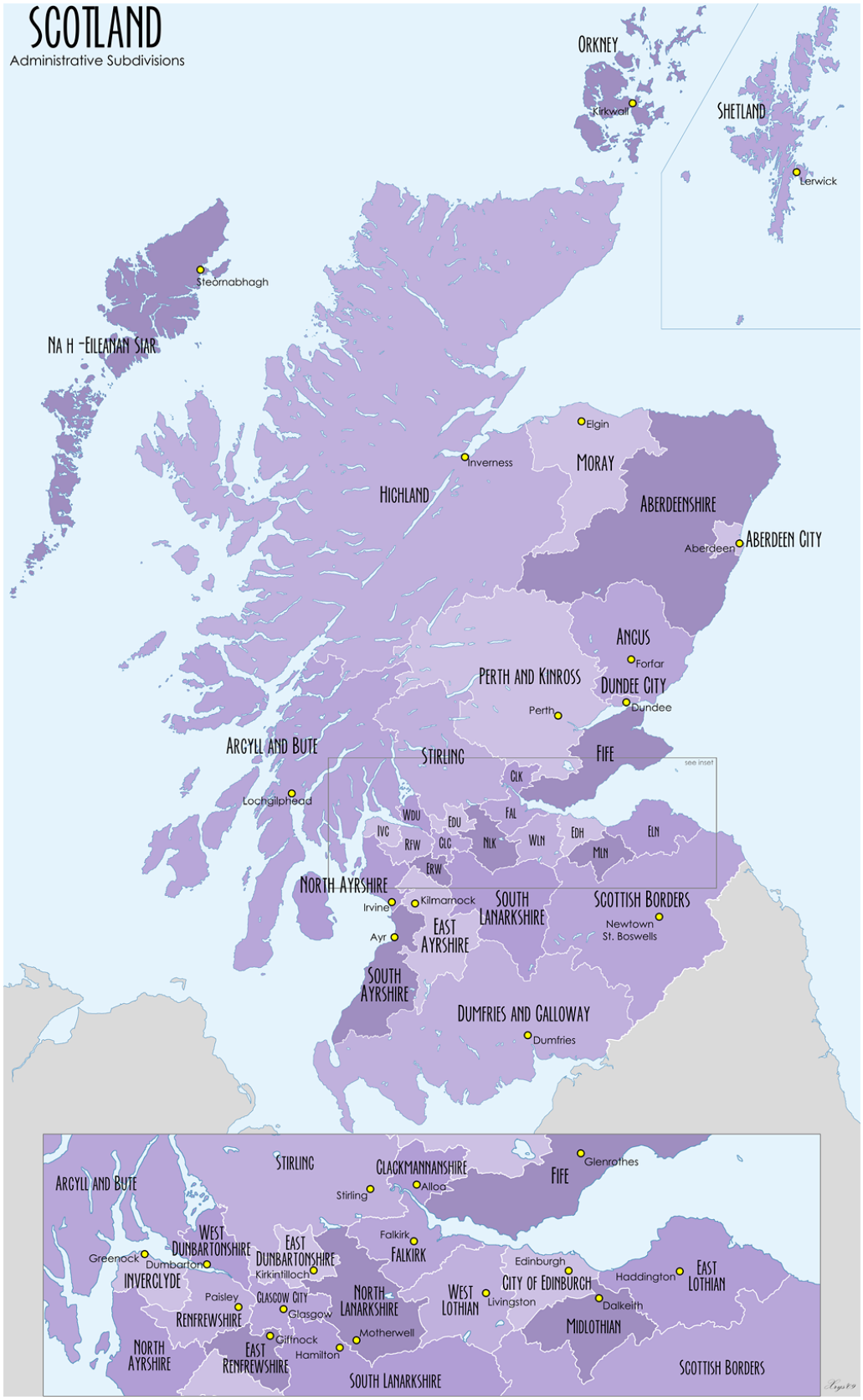
Appendix 7 Regional and 'Unitary' Council Areas

a) REGIONAL AUTHORITIES (1975-1999)



[Source: Wikipedia Commons; Author: XrysD]

b) "UNITARY" LOCAL AUTHORITIES (POST-1999)



[Source: Wikipedia Commons; Author: XrysD]

Appendix 8 Analysis of MFL Influence from Questionnaires

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
Categories of	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	nat	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
Governance Actor	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	T2	T2	T2	T2	T1	T1	T1	T2	T2	T1	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Ind	Sec
Natl./local political																																												
UK Government	2	1	2	2	2	1		1	4	2			2			1		1		1	3	3	2			2	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	5		1	2	1	1	2
Scottish Govt.	5	4	5	6	6	6		5	6	3			4			5		5		6	4	6	5			6	6	6	6	6	6	4	5	5	5	6	4	6	5	4	6	6	6	6	6
Cab. Sec. for Edn	5	3	5	5	5	5		6	6	4			4			6		5		5	3	6	5			6	6	5	6	6	6	4	6	5	4	6	4	6	5	4	6	6	6	6	5
Governing MSPs	3	5	3	6	5	3		3	4	3			3			3		3		5	4	4	2			4	5	4	4	4	2	2	5	3	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	5
Opposition MSPs	3	3	2	3	3	1		2	2	2			3			2		1		1	2	4	2			3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	1	1	3
LA: Edn Convener	4	3	2	2	5	3		3	5	3			3			4		3		1	2	5				3	4	2	3	2	2	2	4	2	5	4	4	2	2	3	4	4	3	4	3
C'llors (ruling)	4	3	2	2	5	2		2	6	3			4			3		2		2	1	3				3	4	1	2	3	2	4	3	1	3	4	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	3
C'llors (opposition)	4	3	1	2	3	1		1	3	2			2			2		1		1	1	3				3	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
Bureaucratic Actors																																												
Senior civil servants	5	2	2	5	4	5		5	5	3			5			6		5		5	2	6	4			6	6	5	6	4	6	4	6	5	2	6	3	5	2	4	4	2	5	5	2
Other civil servants	3	2	3	3	4	4		4	3	2			5			6		3		3	1	6	2			4	4	2	4	3	4	2	5	5	2	3	3	4	2	4	2	2	3	3	1
Agency Actors																																												
HMSCI/Head of ES	5	4	4	6	6	5		4	5	3			5			6		5		5	3	6	1			5	5	6	5	2	6	4	6	5	5	6	4	5	4	5	3	3	5	5	5
HMCI (Curriculum)	5	4	4	6	6	6		5	5	3			4			4		5		3	2	5	1			4	5	4	5	2	5	4	6	5	5	6	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	5
HMI (Languages)	6	3	4	5	6	5		4	4	3			4			6		4		3	3	5	4			4	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	3	3	4	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	5
Other HMIs	5	2	3	4	5	4		3	2	2			3			4		2		2	2	5	2			3	4	2	3	3	4	3	5	4	3	5	3	3	3	4	2	4	3	3	4
Other ES personnel	4	3	5	3	5	3		3	2	2			3			4		1		3	2	5	1			3	3	2	3	3	4	2	3		3	5	3	2	3	4	3	3		4	3
Chief Exec. of SQA	4	2	5	4	5	4		5	3	2			3			5		4		2	3	5	3			3	5	4	4	2	5	1	2	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	4
SQA S.M.T.	3	3	5	3	5	3		3	3	2			2			4		2		1	2	5	2			4	5	3	4	3	4	1	1	5	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	3	4	3	4
SQA MFL Manager	5	3	5	3	4	5		4	3	3			3			5		4		3	3	5	2			4	4	5	5	4	4	2	1	5	4	3	4	4	3	3	5	4	3	3	4
Head of SCILT	5	3	5	6	5	4		3	4	3			4			5		4		1	4	5	4			4	6	4	4	5	3	2	1	5	5	3	4	4	3	2	4	5	3	3	4
LEA Officers																																												
Chief Executive	5	2	2	3	5	2		4	5	3			2			3		4		2	1	5	2			4	5	4	3	1	4	2	3	2	5	3	4	3	3	1	5	4	2	3	3
Corporate Man.T.	5	2	2	3	4	2		3	5	2			2			3		2		2	1	4	1			4	5	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	5	3	3	2	3	1	5	3	2	2	4
Director of Edn.	5	6	4	6	6	5		6	5	3			6			5		5		5	3	5	4			6	6	5	4	4	5	4	5	4	6	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	5
Head of Edn.	5	5	4	6	6	4		5	5	3			6			5		5		6	4	5	1			5	6	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	5
Other Directorate	5	3	3	5	5	2		4	4	2			3			4		3		4	2	4	1			4	4	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	4
MFL CEOs/QIO(s)	5	6	6	4	5	4		3	2	3			6			4		2		5	3	5	2			4	3	2	3	4	2	4	1	3	4	2	4	2	3	1	3	4	3	2	3
School Actors																																												
Pupils	3	4	6	3	6	2		3	2	2			3			2		2		2	2	4	1			3	4	4	4	3	1	4	6	5	3	3	4	4	5	4	5	3	3	4	5
Parents	4	3	6	3	5	2		4	2	2			4			3		3		2	2	4	2			3	5	4	5	3	2	3	5	5	3	4	4	4	5	2	5	3	3	4	3
The Parent Council	3	3	5	3	5	1		3	2	2			4			3		2		3	2	4	3			3	4	2	3	3	2	3	1	4	3	4	4	2	4	2	4	3	3	4	4
School community	3	4	5	3	5	1		2	2	2			3			2		2		3	2	4	2			3	4	1	2	2	2	3	2	4	4	4	5	1	3	2	5	3	2	2	3
Headteacher (HT)	6	4	6	6	6	6		5	5	4			6			6		6		6	5	5	5			5	6	6	6	5	3	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	4	6	6	5	5
DHT w.r.f. MFL	5	4	6	4	6	4		4	4	4			6			6		4		5	4	4	4			5	6	3	5	3	2	6	2	6	5	5	4	4	3	5	4	5	5	5	5
Other SMT	4	3	5	3	5	3		3	4	3			4			4		3		4	3	4	4			4	5	2	4	3	2	5	2	6	5	4	3	3	2	5	2	4	5	4	5
Timetabler	6	6	6	4	5	5		4	4	3			5			5		4		5	4	5	5			5	5	4	4	4	2	4	4	3	5	4	4	4	3	5	4	6	5	4	2
Fac. Head MFL	6	6	6	6	6	5		4	2	4			6			5		5		4	5	5	3			5	6	5	4	4	2	6	6			4		4	3	6	5	6		5	5
PT MFL (if exists)	6		6	6	6	5		4	2	4			6			5		5		4	5	5	3			5	6	5	6	4		6	6	6	6	4	4				5		3	5	
MFL teachers	5	6	6	6	6	5		3	2	4			6			4		5		4	3	4	2			5	5	5	5	3	2	6	6	6	5	3	4	5	2	4	5	5	4	4	4
Other Gov. Actors																																												
Universities	5	4	5	5	5	2		1	5	3			2			4		3		3	4	3	4			5	6	4	4	4	5	2	5	3	4	6	5	1	2		3	1	5	5	4
FE Colleges	4	3	5	4	5	1		1	4	2			2			2		2		1	2	3	1			3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	5	1	2		2	3	4	4	2
Teaching Unions	4	2	3	3	2	3		3	3	2			3			3		2		2	2	4	2			4	2	3	4	2	4	2	1	3	2	2	4	2	2		2	3	2	2	2
Scottish Companies	6	2	3	2	2	1		2	4	2			3			1		1		2	2	3	2			3	4	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	4	4	4	1	2		2	3	2	2	1
Other (specify):	6																									4																				

Respondents	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	94	91
Categories of	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	DHT	DHT	DHT	PT	FH	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	HT	Nat	PT	EA	
Governance Actor	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	MFL	MFL	Uni	Uni	Uni	Uni	FE	T1	T1	T1	T1	T1	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	TU	TU	Par	Bus	Par	T1	Sec	Pol	Sec	Dir	
Natl./local political																																														
UK Government			5	1	1	1	5	1	2	4																								1		1		1									1	
Scottish Govt.			6	5	5		5	5	5	4																								5		6		6									4	
Cab. Sec. for Edn			6	6	1		5	5	5	4																								4		6		5									5	
Governing MSPs			5	4	1		5	4	3	3																								3		4		3									3	
Opposition MSPs			4	1	1		5	1	3	2																								1		2		2									1	
LA: Edn Convener			3	3	1		5	2	3	3																								4		4		2									3	
C'llors (ruling)			3	2	2		5	2	2	3																								2		3		1									2	
C'llors (opposition)			2	1	1		5	1	2	3																								1		2		1									1	
Bureaucratic Actors																																														
Senior civil servants			5	4	2		5	5	1	2																								4		5		5									4	
Other civil servants			4	2	2		5	4	1	2																								4		2		4									2	
Agency Actors										4																																					
HMSCI/Head of ES			6	4	4		6	5	3	3																								6		5		3									4	
HMCI (Curriculum)			6	5	4		5	5	3	4																								5		5		3									3	
HMI (Languages)			5	5	5		5	4	3	3																								5		5		3									3	
Other HMIs			4	2	2		5	3	2	2																								3		3		2									2	
Other ES personnel			4	2	2		5	2	2	2																								2		2		1									1	
Chief Exec. of SQA			3	3	2		5	5	2	3																								5		5		1									3	
SQA S.M.T.			3	2	2		5	2	2	3																								2		3		1									2	
SQA MFL Manager			3	3	2		5	4	2	3																								4		4		1									3	
Head of SCILT			4	4	1	4	4	3	4	3																								2		4		3									3	
LEA Officers																																														
Chief Executive			4	3	1		3	3	2	1																								4		4		3									1	
Corporate Man.T.			4	2	2		3	2	2	4																								3		3		1									1	
Director of Edn.			5	4	2	5	5	4	3	4																								6		5		4									4	
Head of Edn.			5	3	2		5	3	3	4																								5		5		4									3	
Other Directorate			4	1	2		3	2	2	1																								3		2		1									1	
MFL CEOs/QIO(s)			4	2	2			2	4	4																								3		4		3									3	
School Actors																																														
Pupils			5	2	5	1	4	2	5	4																								3		3		1									1	
Parents			4	2	3	2	3	3	5	4																								3		3		1									3	
The Parent Council			4	3	3	2	3	2	3	4																								2		4		1									1	
School community			4	1	2	1	3	1	3	5																								1		2		1									1	
Headteacher (HT)			5	6	6	5	6	6	6	5																								6		6		5									5	
DHT w.r.f. MFL			4	5	6	1	4	4	5	5																								4		5		4									3	
Other SMT			4	3	5	1	4	2	5	4																								3		4		3									2	
Timetabler			4	4	6	4	3	3	5	5																								4		4		3									2	
Fac. Head MFL			5						5	5																								4		4		3									4	
PT MFL (if exists)			5	3	6	3	4	4	5	4																								4		3		2									4	
MFL teachers			4	4	6	2	4	3	5	4																								4		3											4	
Other Gov. Actors																																														
Universities			5	1	1	1	3	1	2	4																								2		2		1									3	
FE Colleges			3	1	1	1	3	1	2	3																								1		1		1									2	
Teaching Unions			3	1	1	1	3	2	2	3																								2		4		1									2	
Scottish Companies			4	1	1	1	2	1	4	3																								1		3		1									2	
Other (specify):						5																																								

Appendix 9 Analysis of Emergent Themes from Interviews

Category	Respondent	Teacher Issues?	HT Issues?	Directorate Iss.?	Devts. Good?	T2 Issues?	EA Caopacity?	Nat Pol & MFL?	Local Pol.: MFL?	HMIe: MFLs?	Civ Serv: Role?	Civ Serv Issues?	Vision for MFL?	Curr. Place?	Implementation	Cyclical Govnce?	Agen/Struc.?	Research?	Linkages?	Structure	Asymmetric?	Elite Actors?	Edn Scotland?
EA MFL Officers	M0001	✔	✔	✔	X	✔	🡻	≠	**0**	✔	🡹	✔	≠	≠	≠	✖	A	✖	≠	M	✔	**F**	🡻
	M0003	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0				X	🡻	X	X	≠	✖	✖	M		**F/P**	
	M0004	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0	X	🡹	✔	≠	X	✖	X	A	X	≠	M	✔	F Q N	🡻
	M0005	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0		🡹	✔	✖	≠	≠	✖		X	X	M/N	✔		
	M0007	≠	≠	✔	≠		🡻	X		✔	?	✔	✖	≠	≠	≠	S			M		F	
	M0008	≠	✔	✔	✖	✔	🡻	≠	**0**	✔	🡹	✔	≠	≠	≠	X	A	X	✖	H	✔	F	🡻
	M0009	≠	≠	✔	≠		🡻	X	X		🡹		X	≠	≠	X			X	H			
	M0010	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻		**0**			✔	≠	≠	✖	✖	A		✖	M/N	✔	**F/P**	
EA Directorate	M0012	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	≠	≠	X			✔	≠	🡻	≠	X	A		≠	H	✔	X	🡻
	M0013	≠	✔	✔	✖	✔		≠	?	✔	🡹	✔	≠	≠	✖	✖	A	✖	≠	H/N	✔	R	🡻
	M0015	≠	✔		≠	✔		≠	0	✔			✖	≠	✖	X	A			M	✔		
	M0016	✔	✔	✔	✖		🡻	≠	**0**		🡹	✔	✖	≠	≠	X	≠		✖	H	✔	X	🡻
	M0018	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	X	0	✔	🡹	✔	≠	≠	✖	✖	≠	X	✖	H	✔	F	🡻
	M0020	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔		X	0		🡹	✔	≠	🡻	✖	✖	A	X	✖	H	✔	F	🡻
	M0090	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔		≠	0	✔	🡹	✔	≠	🡻	≠	✖	A	✖	✖	M	✔	X	🡻
National T1/T2	M0021	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	X	0	✔	🡹	✔	≠	≠	≠	✖	A	X	✖	N	✔	F	🡻
	M0022	≠	≠	✔	≠		🡻	≠	0	✔			≠	≠	≠	✖	A	X	✖	M	✔	F	
	M0023	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	?	✔		✔	✖	≠	≠	X	A		✖	H/N	✔		
	M0026	≠	✔	✔	≠		🡻	≠	0		🡹	✔	≠	≠	✖	✖	A	X	✖	N	✔	**F/B**	
	M0027	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	0	✔		✔	≠	≠	≠	X	S			H/N	✔	F	🡻
	M0029	≠	≠	≠	≠	✔	🡻	≠				✔	✖	≠	≠	X	A		≠	M	✔		
	M0030	≠	≠	≠	≠	✔		≠						≠	≠	X				H/N		F	
Headteachers	M0031	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0	?	🡹	✔	✖	≠	✖	✖	A	✖	✖	M	✔	F	🡻
	M0037	≠	≠	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠				✔	✖	≠	≠	✖	A	✖	✖	N	✔	F	
	M0038	✔	≠	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0		🡹	✔	≠	≠	≠	X	≠	✖	✖	M	✔	F	🡻
	M0039	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0			✔	✖	≠	✖	✖	A	✖	✖	H/N	✔	F	🡻
	M0042	≠		✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0				✖	≠	✖	✖	S	✖		M	✔	**F/R**	
	M0043	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0				✖	≠	≠	✖	A	X	X	H/N	✔	F	🡻
	M0049	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	**0**	✔	🡹	✔	≠	🡻	≠	X	≠	✖	≠	M	✔	**F/B**	🡻
	M0050	✔	≠	✔	≠	✔	🡻	✖	0	✔		?	≠	🡻	≠	✖	A	X	✖	M	✔	**F/B**	
DHT	M0051	≠	✔	✔	≠	?	🡻	≠	0				≠	≠	≠	?	S	X	X	M	✔	F	
	M0053	✔	≠	✔	≠		🡻	≠	0				≠	≠	≠	X	A	X	X	H	✔	F	🡻
	M0055	≠	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻						✖	≠	≠		S		X		✔		
National/Cloud	M0057	≠	≠	≠	X	✔	🡻	✔	0		🡹	✔	≠	≠	≠	X	≠	✖	✖	H/N	✔	F	🡻
	M0058	✔	≠	≠	≠	≠	🡻	≠	0	✔			≠	≠	≠		≠		≠		✔		
	M0063	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠			✔						≠				H/N	✔	F	
	M0064	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠			✔						≠				H/N	✔	F	
	M0066	✔	≠	≠	≠								≠										
	M0081	✔	≠	≠	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0	X	🡹		≠	≠	≠	X	A	≠	≠	M/N	✔	F	🡻
	M0083	✔	✔	✔	≠	✔	🡻	≠	0				≠	≠	X	X	≠	X	X	H	✔		
Total: 40																							

KEY:

≠ : ‘is inconsistent, or variable’

🡻: ’ has declined’

🡹: ‘has increased’

✔: ‘yes’

X: ‘poor’ or ‘no’

✖: ‘very poor’ or ‘strongly no’

H/M/N: hierarchy, Metagovernance or networks

A/S: agency or structure

0/**0**: ‘no influence’ or ‘absolutely no influence’

F/P/B/O’N: Forsyth, Pignatelli, Bloomer and O’Neill

Appendix 10 Analysis of MFL Support and Control from Questionnaires

[Scores: 1 (most support/control) to 10 (least support/control)]

Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
Nature:	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	Nat	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Off	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	Dir	T2	T2	T2	T1	T1	T1	T2	T2	T1	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	PS	Sec
Ability to Support & Promote MFL																																												
Parents	6	3		4	4	3	5	5	10	8			7			7		3		6	5	5	2		4	3	4		4	5	5	5	2	5	4	2	2	6	1	3	4	5	1
MFL Teachers	4	1		1	2	1	1	1	1	6			2			4		2		4	2	2	1		1	1	1		1	4	2	1	6	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	4
Headteachers	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	3	5			1			3		1		1	3	3			2	2	2		2	3	1	3	1	3	2	2	4	3	2	4	1	2	1	3
Dirs. Of Edn.	3	4		5	5	5	4	4	2	2			3			2		4		2	6	4	4		3	5	6		3	2	3	2	4	5	3	3	2	4	1	5	5	6	7	5
Councillors	7	5		6	6	8	7	8	4	10			4			8		8		8	10	7	9		8	8	8		8	10	6	6	10	9	7	6	9	9	10	8	7	8	9	9
MSPs	9	6		7	7	7	6	7	6	4			6			5		6		9	7	6	8		7	7	7		7	9	7	7	9	7	8	8	7	10	7	6	7	4	10
Scot. Govt.	2	7		3	1	4	3	3	5	1			5			1		5		3	3	1	5		5	4	3		5	1	4	1	3	6	1	9	5	6	5	2	4	3	3	2
UK Govt.	10	9		9	9	9	10	10	9	3			10			9		10		10	8	8	10		10	10	10		10	7	10	9	6	8	10	10	8	7	9	10	10	10	10	8
Unions	8	10		8	10	10	9	9	8	9			8			6		9		5	9	9	6		9	6	9		9	6	8	8	7	10	9	7	10	8	4	9	8	9	8	7
Companies	5	8		10	8	6	8	6	7	7			9			10		7		7	4	10	7		6	9	5		6	8	8	10	8	4	4	5	6	5	8	6	9	5	6	6
Have Power/ Control over MFL																																												
Parents	10			5	5	5	4	5	10	3			8			6		4		5	6	7	8		9	6	4		9	1	5	3	9	5	9	6	3	1	8	1	3	4	8	8
MFL Teachers	5			4	3	4	5	4	7	2			6			4		5		4	4	4	9		4	7	3		4	3	2	3	2	4	4	2	8	3	3	2	3	5	7
Headteachers	1			1	1	1	2	6	1	1			1			2		1		2	1	1	3		2	4	1		2	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	1	5	1	1	4	2
Dirs. Of Edn.	2			2	2	3	2	3	4	4			2			3		3		3	8	2	2		3	2	5		3	6	3	1	3	2	2	5	3	2	6	5	5	1	4
Councillors	3			6	6	6	8	8	33	6			3			8		7		8	10	6	5		7	3	7		7	7	4	8	8	7	5	9	7	5	7	7	7	7	3	6
MSPs	6			7	7	7	6	6	2	7			5			7		6		7	7	5	7		5	5	6		5	6	6	10	5	6	7	8	6	7	6	8	6	6	7	5
Scot. Govt.	4			3	4	2	3	1	1	5			4			1		2		1	1	1	1		1	1	2		1	4	7	5	4	1	1	4	4	4	2	4	2	2	1
UK Govt.	8			10	9	10	10	9	5	9			10			9		9		9	8	10			10	8	10		10	5	10	10	7	8	10	9	10	9	10	10	10	10	3
Unions	7			8	10	8	7	7	8	10			7			5		9		6	3	9	4		6	9	9		6	10	9	10	6	10	6	5	8	6	5	9	8	9	6	10
Companies	9			9	8	9	9	10	8	8			9			10		8		10	5	10	6		8	10	6		8	8	8	8	8	10	9	8	7	10	9	10	4	9	8	9

Key:

Participant Numbers	f	%
Number who agreed in principle:	90	
Number offered questionnaires:	70	100%
Number who responded to the ques:	56	80%
Number who responded to this ques	47	67%
Number who agreed but did not res	14	20%

Participant Codes:	
Completed all parts of question	
Completed some parts	
Completed parrtial questionnaire (but not this)	
Agreed to respond but did not	
Agreed in principle, but not selected	

Questionnaire Recipient Origins:	f	%
National Level:	22	31.5%
Local Authority Le	22	31.5%
School Level:	26	37%
Total:	70	100%
%s of total recipients		

Questionnaire Respondents:	f	%
National Level:	15	68%
Local Authority Le	18	81%
School Level:	23	89%
Total:	56	100%
%s of Qnnaire respondents		

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT	DH	DH	PT	PT		Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	EA	EA	EA	EA	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	Na	HT	Na	PT	EA
	Sec	PS	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Sec	Un	Un	Un	Un	FE	T1	T1	T1	T1	T1	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	Pol	TU	TU	Par	Bus	Par	T1	Sec	Pol	Sec	Dir
Parents			7	5	5	4	3	4	2	7																								3		3	3	9							6
MFL Teachers			5	2	2	1	1	5	1	5																								1		1	1	6							4
Headteachers			4	1	1	2	2	3	3	2																								2		2	2	10							3
Dirs. Of Edn.			3	4	3	3	3	5	2	7	4																							4		4	4	7							2
Councillors			10	8	9	5	7	7	8	10																								9		5	5	3							8
MSPs			6	6	6	7	6	6	6	6																								7		6	6	2							5
Scot. Govt.			1	3	4	8	4	1	5	1																								5		8	8	8							1
UK Govt.			2	10	10	9	8	8	9	3																								8		10	1	1							10
Unions			9	9	8	10	9	10	10	9																								10		7	4	4							7
Companies			8	7	7	6	10	9	4	8																								6		9	5	5							9

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
Parents				5	5	4	7	4	4	5																								7			5	1							5
MFL Teachers				4	4	3	6	5	5	6																								5			8	7							4
Headteachers				1	1	1	3	1	1	3																								4			2	10							2
Dirs. Of Edn.				3	2	2	2	3	3	4																								3			3	8							3
Councillors				7	9	6	5	7	7	8																								1			4	4							8
MSPs				6	6	7	4	6	9	9																								6			7	3							7
Scot. Govt.				2	3	5	1	2	2	1																								2			1	9							1
UK Govt.				10	10	10	8	9	8	2																								9			10	2							9
Unions				9	8	8	9	8	10	7																								8			6	5							6
Companies				8	7	9	10	6	10																									10			9	6							10

Respondents To This Qn.:	f	%
National Level:	9	55%
Local Authority Le	15	68%
School Level:	23	85%
Total:	47	100%
%s of respondents to this question		

Appendix 11 Individual Ratings of the Elements of Effective Governance:

Action - from Questionnaires

Qn. Recipient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	
National Agents (politicians, Civil Service and national agencies - Extent of Action																																														National Agents (pc
Leadership	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	0.4	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	3.5	0.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	0.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	Leadership
Research	0.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	2.0		0.4	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Research
Planning	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0		2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.5	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	Planning
Consultation	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	1.0		2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	2.0	3.5	4.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	Consultation
Policy	1.0	1.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	2.0		3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	3.5	3.0	3.5	1.0	2.0	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	Policy
Development	2.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	1.0		2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	Development
Training	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0		2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.5	1.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Training
Resourcing	2.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0		3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.5	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Resourcing
Management	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.0	1.0		1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.5	3.5	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	Management
Implementation	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	1.0		2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.5	2.5	4.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Implementation
Evaluation	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	2.0	4.0	4.0	1.0		3.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Evaluation
Amendment	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	1.0		2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Amendment
Local Authority Agents (councillors, Directorate and CDOs) - Extent of Action																																													Local Authority Age
Leadership	2.0	3.0		3.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	2.0				2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	1.5	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	2.5	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	Leadership
Research	1.0	2.0		1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.5	0.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	3.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Research
Planning	2.0	3.0		3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.0				2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.5	1.0	3.0	1.5	1.0	3.0	1.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	Planning
Consultation	1.0	3.0		3.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0				0.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Consultation
Policy	0.0	3.0		3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0				2.0	1.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.5	4.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Policy
Development	2.0	3.0		3.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.0	2.5	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Development
Training	2.0	3.0		3.0	3.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				3.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	Training
Resourcing	2.0	3.0		4.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Resourcing
Management	2.0	3.0		3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.5	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.5	2.0	1.0	1.0	Management
Implementation	2.0	2.0		3.0	3.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	Implementation
Evaluation	2.0	3.0		3.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				1.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	Evaluation
Amendment	1.0	3.0		1.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.5	4.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	Amendment
School Agents (HT, DHTs, Fac Heads - Extent of Action																																													School Agents (HT,
Leadership	1.0	4.0		2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0				2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.5	2.0	4.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	Leadership
Research	0.0	4.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Research
Planning	2.0	3.0		2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0				3.0	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.5	1.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	Planning
Consultation	1.0	4.0		0.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0				1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	Consultation
Policy	1.0	4.0		0.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0				2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	3.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	Policy
Development	1.0	4.0		2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0				1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	Development
Training	1.0	4.0		1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	1.0				2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Training
Resourcing	1.0	4.0		2.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.0				2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Resourcing
Management	2.0	4.0		2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	1.0				2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Management
Implementation	2.0	4.0		3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	1.0				1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	Implementation
Evaluation	1.0	4.0		3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0				1.0	0.5	3.0	1.0	3.0	2.5	0.0	3.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Evaluation
Amendment	1.0	4.0		2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0				0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.5	0.0	2.0	2.5	0.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	Amendment

Key:

PARTICIPANT NUMBERS:	f	%
Number who agreed in principle:	90	
Number offered questionnaires:	70	100%
Number who responded to the questionnaire:	56	80%
Number who responded to this question:	49	70%
Number who agreed but did not respond:	14	20%

PARTICIPANT CODES:
Completed all parts of question
Completed some parts
Completed other parts of the questionnaire but not this
Agreed to respond but did not
Agreed in principle, but not selected

QUESTIONNAIRE RECIPIENT ORIGINS:	f	%
National Level:	22	31.5%
Local Authority Level:	22	31.5%
School Level:	26	37%
Total:	70	100%

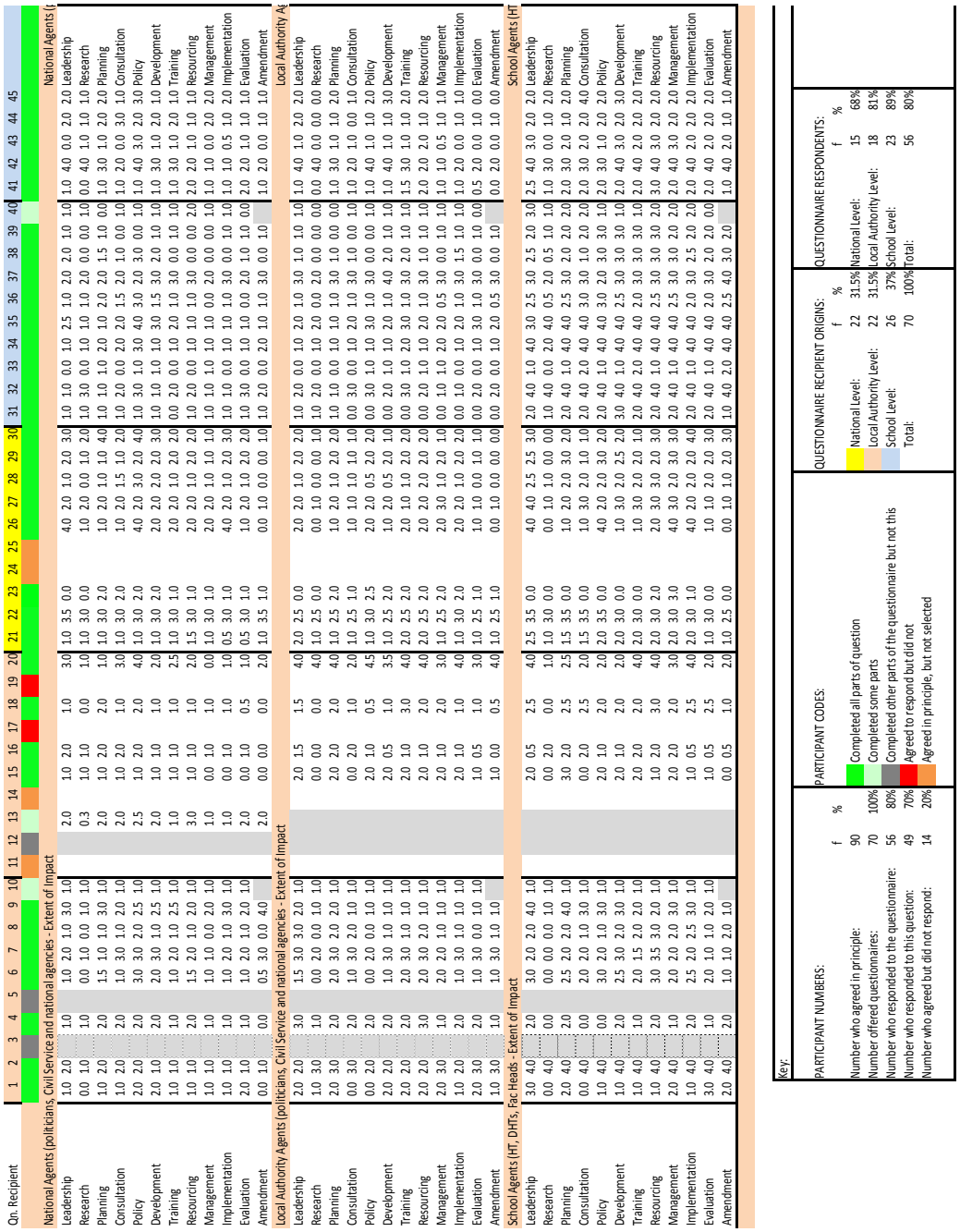
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS:	f	%
National Level:	15	68%
Local Authority Level:	18	81%
School Level:	23	89%
Total:	56	80%

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
National Agents (politicians, Civil Service and national agencies - Extent of Action																																													
Leadership			2.0	2.0	4.0	2.0		2.0	3.0	1.0								4.0	4.0															2.0		3.0		3.0							3.0
Research			3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0		0.0	3.0	1.0								1.0	1.0															1.0		0.0		0.0							2.5
Planning			3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0		3.0	2.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0		3.0		3.0							2.5
Consultation			3.5	3.0	3.0	2.0		3.0	2.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0		4.0		2.0							2.5
Policy			3.5	2.5	4.0	3.0		3.5	2.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															4.0		4.0		2.0							3.0
Development			2.0	1.5	0.0	1.0		2.0	1.0	1.0								4.0	4.0															3.0		4.0		2.0							2.0
Training			2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0		1.5	0.0	1.0								0.0	0.0															3.0		3.0		0.0							2.0
Resourcing			2.0	0.5	4.0	1.0		2.0	1.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															2.0		2.0		1.0							2.5
Management			3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															1.0		0.5		1.0							1.0
Implementation			3.0	2.0	0.0	2.0		1.0	1.0	1.0								2.0	2.0															1.0		1.0		2.0							1.0
Evaluation			2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0		2.5	1.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															2.0		2.0		0.0							1.0
Amendment			2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	1.0								4.0	4.0															0.0		3.0		0.0							1.0
Local Authority Agents (councillors, Directorate and CDOs) - Extent of Action																																												
Leadership			3.0	1.5	1.0	1.0		1.0	3.0	1.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		4.0		2.0							1.5
Research			2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	3.0	1.0								0.0	0.0															1.0		2.0		0.0							0.0
Planning			3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0		1.0	1.0	1.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		3.0		1.0							1.0
Consultation			3.0	1.0	0.0	0.0		1.0	2.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		4.0		0.0							0.0
Policy			3.0	0.5	1.0	1.0		0.0	2.0	0.0								2.0	2.0															2.0		2.0		0.0							0.0
Development			3.0	1.5	0.0	2.0		1.5	1.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		3.0		0.0							1.0
Training			2.0	2.0	1.0	2.5		2.0	0.0	2.0								4.0	4.0															3.0		4.0		0.0							1.0
Resourcing			3.5	2.0	1.0	2.5		2.5	1.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															4.0		4.0		0.0							1.0
Management			3.0	1.5	0.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		3.0		1.0							1.0
Implementation			3.0	1.5	0.0	1.5		1.0	1.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		3.0		1.0							1.0
Evaluation			1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0		0.5	1.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0		3.5		0.0							0.5
Amendment			2.0	0.5	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0		3.0		0.0							0.5
School Agents (HT, DHTs, Fac Heads - Extent of Action																																												
Leadership			3.5	3.0	3.0	2.0		3.5	4.0	3.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		4.0		2.0							2.0
Research			2.0	0.5	0.0	0.0		0.0	1.0	1.0								1.0	1.0															2.0		1.0		0.0							2.0
Planning			3.5	3.5	4.0	3.0		4.0	3.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		4.0		2.0							2.0
Consultation			2.5	2.5	3.0	1.5		3.0	2.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0		4.0		0.0							1.5
Policy			3.5	2.5	4.0	2.5		3.0	2.0	1.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		2.0		0.0							3.0
Development			3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0		3.0	3.0	4.0								3.0	3.0															4.0		3.0		1.0							2.0
Training			2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0		2.0	3.0	3.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		2.0		1.0							0.0
Resourcing			2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0		4.0	3.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		2.0		0.0							2.5
Management			3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0		3.0	4.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															3.0		3.0		2.0							2.5
Implementation			3.5	3.0	4.0	3.0		3.0	3.0	4.0								2.0	2.0															4.0		4.0		2.0							1.5
Evaluation			2.0	2.5	3.0	2.0		3.0	1.0	3.0								4.0	4.0															3.0		3.0		0.0							2.5
Amendment			3.5	2.0	3.0	2.0		3.0	1.0	3.0								3.0	3.0															3.0		3.0		0.0							2.5

RESPONDENTS TO THIS QUESTION:	f	%
National Level:	12	55%
Local Authority Level:	15	68%
School Level:	22	85%
Total:	49	70%

Appendix 12 Individual Ratings of the Elements of Effective Governance:

Impact - from Questionnaires



	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
National Agents (politicians, Civil Service and national agencies - Extent of Impact																																													
Leadership			2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	1.0								3.0	3.0															1.0	1.0	2.0									1.5
Research			2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	1.0								1.0	1.0															1.0	1.0	0.0									1.0
Planning			3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	1.0								3.0	3.0															1.0	1.0	1.0									1.5
Consultation			3.0	1.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	1.0								3.0	3.0															1.0	1.0	0.0									1.5
Policy			3.5	2.0	0.0	1.0		2.0	2.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															3.0	4.0	0.0									1.5
Development			2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	1.5	1.0									1.0
Training			2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		0.5	0.0	1.0								0.0	0.0															3.0	2.0	0.0									1.5
Resourcing			2.0	1.5	0.0	1.5		1.5	2.0	0.0								4.0	4.0															2.0	2.0	1.0									1.0
Management			3.0	1.5	1.0	0.0		1.0	2.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															0.0	1.0	4.0									1.0
Implementation			3.0	1.5	1.0	0.5		1.0	1.0	1.0								2.0	2.0															1.0	2.0	0.0									1.0
Evaluation			2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0		1.0	1.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															1.0	2.0	0.0									0.0
Amendment			2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															0.0	2.0	0.0									0.0
Local Authority Agents (politicians, Civil Service and national agencies - Extent of Impact																																												
Leadership			3.0	1.0	0.0	0.5		0.0	3.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	3.0	1.0									0.5
Research			3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	0.0								0.0	0.0															0.0	2.0	0.0									0.0
Planning			2.5	1.0	0.0	1.0		0.0	1.0	0.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	2.0	1.0									0.0
Consultation			3.0	0.5	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	2.0	0.0									0.0
Policy			3.0	1.5	1.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	0.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	2.0	0.0									0.0
Development			3.0	1.0	0.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	0.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	3.0	0.0									0.5
Training			2.0	1.0	1.0	1.5		1.0	0.0	2.0								4.0	4.0															2.0	3.0	0.0									1.0
Resourcing			3.5	2.0	0.0	2.0		2.0	2.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															3.0	3.0	0.0									1.0
Management			3.0	1.0	0.0	1.0		1.0	2.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	3.0	1.0									0.5
Implementation			3.0	1.0	0.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	3.0	1.0									1.0
Evaluation			1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	1.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															0.0	2.0	0.0									0.5
Amendment			2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															1.0	2.0	0.0									0.5
School Agents (HT, DHTs, Fac Heads - Extent of Impact																																												
Leadership			3.5	3.0	4.0	2.0		3.0	4.0	3.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	4.0	2.0									1.0
Research			3.5	0.5	1.0	0.0		0.0	1.0	1.0								1.0	1.0															1.0	1.0	0.0									1.0
Planning			3.5	3.0	4.0	3.0		3.0	3.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	3.0	2.0									1.0
Consultation			3.5	1.5	3.0	1.0		1.0	0.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	3.0	0.0									1.0
Policy			3.5	2.0	3.0	2.0		2.5	2.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	3.0	0.0									1.0
Development			3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0		2.0	3.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															3.0	3.0	4.0									1.0
Training			2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0		2.0	3.0	2.0								3.0	3.0															3.0	3.0	4.0									0.0
Resourcing			2.5	2.0	3.0	3.0		3.0	3.0	2.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	2.0	4.0									1.0
Management			3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0		3.0	4.0	3.0								2.0	2.0															2.0	3.0	2.0									1.0
Implementation			3.5	3.0	4.0	2.0		3.0	3.0	4.0								2.0	2.0															3.0	3.0	2.0									1.0
Evaluation			2.0	2.5	4.0	1.0		2.5	1.0	3.0								4.0	4.0															1.0	3.0	0.0									1.0
Amendment			3.5	1.5	3.0	1.0		2.5	1.0	3.0								3.0	3.0															2.0	3.0	0.0									1.0

RESPONDENTS TO THIS QUESTION:	f	%
National Level:	12	55%
Local Authority Level:	15	68%
School Level:	22	85%
Total:	49	70%

APPENDIX 14: Circular 1178: The Teaching of Languages Other Than English in Scottish Schools (1989)

Scottish Education Department

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SED CIRCULAR NO 1178

Previous Circular No: None

The Chief Executive of the
Regional or Islands Council

(Copy to Director of Education and Director of Finance)

Your ref

Our ref

Date 12 January 198

Dear Sir

THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH IN SCOTTISH SCHOOLS

1. This Circular describes and explains the Secretary of State's policy on the teaching of foreign languages in Scottish schools, and sets out the action which the Secretary of State asks education authorities to take in planning the teaching of foreign languages. For the sake of brevity the term "Foreign Languages" is used generally throughout this circular for the expression "Languages other than English"; it is acknowledged that Gaelic and Asian languages are not "foreign languages" for some pupils.

2. In formulating his policy, the Secretary of State has taken carefully into account the advice contained in the statement of position prepared by the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum (SCCC), copies of which are being distributed separately by the SCCC; he regards this statement as a valuable analysis and presentation of the place of foreign language teaching in the school curriculum. He has decided, however, that his aims for language teaching should extend beyond the bounds of the SCCC advice in a number of respects, most notably in the matter of providing for a modern foreign language in S3 and S4.

GENERAL

3. The Secretary of State is firmly of the view that the learning of foreign languages is a valid and useful educational experience which can benefit pupils across the whole range of ability. In the case of modern foreign languages their use as a means of communication must be a fundamental aim of study, but pupils should also be aware of the form and structure of any language they are studying. This can help the subsequent study of other languages.

THE PRIMARY STAGES

4. Up to now the primary school has not in general concerned itself with languages other than English. Gaelic is an exception. Teaching may be undertaken in Gaelic, or bilingually, and Gaelic may be taught to learners where this is practical and acceptable to local communities. Another exception is Asian languages which may be used as a bridge to proficiency in English.

5. The Secretary of State supports these uses of Gaelic and Asian languages and wants to see them continued. He believes also that there is a case for beginning the study of a modern foreign language in primary school and he

wishes to examine how this might be taken forward in Scotland. He is aware that early experiments in this field were not a success and he considers that a better outcome may be achieved with more careful planning, an adequate supply of trained teachers and appropriate level of resources committed to the project. As an initial step, he intends to establish, in co-operation with education authorities, a series of pilot projects to take place from school session 1989-1990. Financial support for these projects will be provided by the Department separately and in addition to the resources otherwise available to education authorities.

THE SECONDARY STAGES

Modern Foreign Languages

6. It is the view of the Secretary of State that throughout S1 and S2 every pupil should study a modern foreign European language by means of a structured and progressive 2 year course (the only exceptions, as noted in para 7 below, will be certain pupils recorded as having special educational needs).

7. The Secretary of State is also of the view that the study of at least one modern European foreign language should normally be continued by all pupils throughout the 4 years of compulsory secondary school. He accordingly asks education authorities to aim for the achievement of this by 1992 i.e. pupils entering S3 in Autumn 1992 should study at least one modern European foreign language through that year and the succeeding S4 year of their education. He envisages that schools will offer that language in S3 and S4 through a 2 year Standard Grade course.

8. Throughout these 4 years of secondary education pupils should also be given an opportunity and encouragement to study an additional language, whether a modern foreign language, a classical language, Gaelic or an Asian language. Courses might be one or two year courses or short courses as circumstances permit and as the needs and preferences of pupils warrant.

9. An increase in pupils continuing the study of modern foreign languages into S5 and S6 is also desirable. Increasing opportunities for study in Europe and the operation of a single European market from 1992 underline the desirability of such a development. However, in view of the greater specialisation that takes place at these stages the Secretary of State does not consider it appropriate to set targets for additional uptake.

10. Increased foreign language study in S3 and S4 will have implications for curricular planning and timetabling, particularly in view of the additional demands currently being made on the curriculum by important programmes such as the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and the Enterprise and Education Initiative. The Secretary of State believes that these claims can be met in a way compatible with the aim of giving every pupil a broad and balanced curriculum throughout the 4 years of compulsory secondary schooling. He accepts, however, that further guidance would be appropriate and he has asked the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum to take account of this development in the course of their current review of Guidelines for Headteachers.

Diversity of language provision

11. The Secretary of State recognises that French will for the foreseeable future remain the first foreign language to be studied by most pupils in

school. Most language teachers teach French and this in turn reflects the traditional cultural and political importance of the language. But other languages, particularly those of our main European partners, have an importance that cannot be said to be reflected by the numbers studying them. The Secretary of State wishes to see more pupils studying German, Italian, Spanish and also Russian, and he urges education authorities to give consideration to increasing the opportunities for study of those languages wherever feasible.

12. There are other languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and the Scandinavian languages which, the Secretary of State acknowledges, pupils may wish to study, especially in the senior years of secondary school. In appropriate circumstances these languages might be studied through National Certificate modules. Generally speaking, however, the Secretary of State is of the view that the study of these languages properly belongs to post school education.

Classics

13. The teaching of classical languages has declined in recent years but the Secretary of State believes that their study offers a valuable educational experience and, in the interests of maximising pupil and parent choice, he urges education authorities to ensure that within each area a number of schools continues to offer courses in these languages. While the study of a classical language will normally begin in S1 or S2 he hopes that schools offering those languages will be able to provide for pupils who opt to begin their study at a later stage, up to and including S5 and S6. Consortium working might be appropriate at these later stages and the possibility of establishing such arrangements should be explored.

Gaelic

14. The Secretary of State is fully committed to the teaching and learning of Gaelic in schools where there is a demand for it. Gaelic may appropriately be offered from S1 or S2 in addition to a modern European foreign language and the Secretary of State hopes that the availability of new courses and materials for those stages together with the new Standard Grade courses - for both learners and native speakers - will ensure a continuing healthy uptake of the language. He acknowledges that difficulties can arise in fitting Gaelic into an already crowded timetable, but he believes that these can be resolved.

Asian Languages

15. Asian languages and the traditions they represent should be respected and fostered and, as in the case of Gaelic, where demand exists and can be met it will be appropriate for an Asian language to be offered from S1 or S2.

OTHER ISSUES

Special educational needs

16. While the Secretary of State's aim is that a modern European foreign language should normally be studied by all pupils at secondary level he accepts that in certain cases pupils may have special educational needs which make the learning of a foreign language unrewarding and mainly burdensome. Decisions on such cases will need to be taken individually but there should be no automatic assumption that pupils with special needs should be excluded from

language tuition. So far as possible all children should be given an opportunity to study foreign languages.

Resources

17. These recommendations look towards a marked and sustained increase in the number of pupils who continue to study at least one foreign language beyond the S2 level. This will call for an increase in the supply of foreign language teachers of 400-500 in the period up to 1992 and the maintenance of an appropriate supply thereafter. The Government will take steps to ensure that the requisite number of foreign language teachers is available. A new emphasis on language will also mean a declining need for teachers in other areas, and the Government will invite the Colleges of Education to take this into account in their forward planning. Equipment will also be needed to cope with the increased numbers studying foreign languages but much of the material developed for Standard Grade will prove appropriate. Overall the Secretary of State believes that the policies set out can be implemented within planned provision for local authority expenditure based on staffing levels as derived from the Department's recent review. He asks education authorities to make every effort to achieve the targets he has set, and in particular to establish the study of at least one modern European foreign language as the norm for all pupils entering S3 by 1992. At the same time he accepts that there may be local difficulties which mean that the pace of implementation may not be uniform across the whole country.

18. Any enquiries about this circular should be addressed to Mr A Peterkin, Tel 031 244 4448.

Yours faithfully

J W L LONIE

APPENDIX 15 Circular 3/2001: Guidance on Flexibility in the Curriculum

SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

Education Department
Qualifications, Assessment and Curriculum Division

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Directors of Education

Your ref:
Our ref:

16 August 2001

Circular 3/2001

GUIDANCE ON FLEXIBILITY IN THE CURRICULUM

Dear Colleague

Introduction

1. Flexibility in the delivery of the curriculum is essential if teachers, schools and education authorities are to meet the needs and wishes of all pupils. While the 5-14 curriculum guidelines have previously allowed for some flexibility, the focus of this guidance is to clarify and strengthen these arrangements. Ministers are keen to encourage education authorities to review their current approaches to flexibility and innovation in the curriculum. The intention is to ensure that schools and teachers are in a position to take advantage of the full range of existing flexibility in order that all young people have the opportunity to achieve their full potential.

2. This circular:

- sets out the flexibility available around and within current curriculum guidelines and arrangements for national qualifications; and

- explains new procedures which HM Inspectorate of Education will use when inspecting schools which have taken advantage of this flexibility.

3. While this circular concentrates on the 5-14 curriculum, the general principles in terms of flexibility and a focus on outcomes apply equally to the curriculum for pre-school education and for those in post-14 education.

4. The distribution of the circular meets a recommendation made by the Discipline Task Force regarding the provision of guidance to all schools on the degree of curricular flexibility available within current guidelines to enable them to take account of local circumstances and meet individual pupil needs.

Flexibility within Guidelines

5. The *5-14 Curriculum Guidelines* along with *Curriculum Design for the Secondary Stages: Guidelines for Schools* give advice on an appropriate curriculum framework for primary and secondary schools. They draw on existing effective practice in schools and have been developed through a process of considerable consultation with Education Authorities, interested individuals and organisations. They contain guidance on the structure and balance of the curriculum with indications of suggested time allocations for the different areas of the curriculum.

6. Within both sets of guidelines there is provision for flexibility with 20% of time in primary school and the first 2 years of secondary school unallocated. In S3 and S4 the flexibility factor is 30%. In addition, the 5-14 guidelines recognise that at different stages and for different purposes different allocations of time will be appropriate. There is no single curriculum structure that covers the wide variety of school contexts. For example in the early stages of primary school significantly more time than the suggested 35% may be spent on language and mathematics while in P6 and P7 aspects of Environmental Studies may require an increased time allocation.

7. Similarly, Circular 6/99 previously emphasised the importance of flexibility within the curriculum. Up to now, teachers may not have taken full advantage of such flexibility. This circular builds on previous guidance by reinforcing the flexibility available to teachers and encouraging full implementation of these arrangements.

Flexibility around Guidelines

8. Guidelines on curriculum content and delivery are an attempt, through a degree of standardisation of inputs to education, to ensure the provision of a high standard of education for all pupils. The Executive believes that the principles underpinning the 5-14 guidelines of Breadth, Balance, Coherence, Continuity and Progression will remain appropriate for the delivery of high quality education provision.

9. However, recent attention from many people in the education system has focussed on an outcome-based model for education. The National Priorities for education, shown in Annex A, were set by order of the Scottish Parliament in December 2000. These are the priority outcomes which will be the focus of attention in schools over the next three years. They will underpin the Improvement Plans which local authorities will publish by December 2001, which will in turn form the basis for each school's development plan, due to be published by 2002. Performance measures and indicators related to these priorities will be published in the autumn.

10. The advantage of a focus on outcomes rather than inputs is that it removes the bureaucratic burden of attempts to raise standards through detailed control of the inputs to school education. While a high-quality, broad and balanced education will result if the *5-14 Curriculum Guidelines* and *Curriculum Design for the Secondary Stages: Guidelines for Schools* are implemented well, it is unreasonable to suggest that they are the *only* model capable of delivering that end result.

11. Local authorities in their improvement plans and schools in their development plans will have to address how they will achieve the highest possible standards against all of the national priority areas. For their particular local circumstances, they may have an approach to offer which does not follow the detail of curriculum guidelines.

Criteria for innovation around guidelines and school inspection

12. HM Inspectors of Education use the 5-14 guidelines as a basis for their inspections of schools. As a further encouragement to flexibility, HMIE have now agreed the new criteria which will be applied to instances of curricular innovation. These are that:

- there should be clearly identified educational gain for pupils based on a clear rationale and objectives and consistent with the National Priorities;
- there should be full consultation with stakeholders (including parents, teachers and pupils) and consensus before proposals are introduced; and
- rigorous quality assurance arrangements should be in place to monitor and evaluate the proposals and their implementation against the objectives and the results of these evaluations should be made available to the key stakeholders; and,
- there should be well planned implementation using development plans and action plans.

13. These criteria will come into operation with immediate effect. Innovative approaches to the content and delivery of the curriculum which fulfil the above criteria will be welcomed, and judged on their merits in terms of the outcomes achieved.

Particular Effects of Curriculum Flexibility

14. The encouragement of flexibility in the delivery of the curriculum has important implications for all teachers and all pupils. However, there are some areas of school education curriculum where flexibility will have particular effects. These are set out below.

Discipline and Behaviour

15. The report of the Discipline Task Group published in June of this year identified an inappropriate curriculum as one of a number of barriers to learning experienced by disaffected young people. It endorsed the use of more appropriate curriculum management to support not only some of the specific needs of pupils with social, emotional and behavioural problems, but also a much broader range of pupils who experienced boredom and lack of inspiration in school.

Guidance to New Community Schools

16. The New Community Schools Prospectus issued in 1998 offered support to approaches which were radical and designed to secure a step change in the attainment of children. It encouraged adjustment to the curriculum when it could be demonstrated that a better education and experience would be offered for those pupils concerned and student potential maximised. It also suggested the adoption of styles of learning and teaching (possibly including active learning and informal education techniques) to ensure that an appropriate and stimulating curriculum is accessible to all students.

Standard Grade and New National Qualifications

17. The Scottish Qualifications Authority sets down detailed conditions in respect of the presentation of candidates for examinations including 'Age and Stage' restrictions which until April 1999 required students to be at stage S4 at least, or reach 16 in that calendar year, before presentation for Standard Grade; and S5 or 17 for Highers. Following a wide ranging consultation exercise arrangements were revised to enable pupils from the 1999-00 session to take external assessments for Standard Grade in S3 and new National Qualifications in S4. This flexibility enables the most able pupils to make more rapid progress while making it easier for less able pupils to gain qualifications before leaving school.

18. The new National Qualifications offer coherent progression routes between qualifications and some schools may decide to replace some or all Standard Grade provision with these courses where appropriate. For example, some schools have already after consultation with stakeholders, decided that it would best meet the needs of its pupils to offer the range of new National Qualifications in place of some or all Standard Grade courses with Intermediate 1 or 2 being offered in S3 and Higher in S4. Access courses may be of use in meeting the needs of the pupils for whom a wide range of Standard Grade courses would be too demanding.

Modern Languages

19. SED Circular 1178/89 as amended by Circular 2/90 provides guidance on the provision of modern languages in Scottish schools and states that the study of at least one language other than English, and preferably of a modern European foreign language, should normally be pursued by all pupils throughout the third and fourth years of compulsory secondary school. The Report of the Action Group on Languages have recommended an entitlement for all within education 5-16 with a suggested example for how that entitlement can be achieved. Using this entitlement package for language education strengthens current provision by offering a flexible approach to language learning which can be adapted to suit local circumstances and individual needs. It puts pupils needs at the centre of languages policy by outlining clearly what they can expect to see made available in their school. By giving pupils an entitlement to education in a modern language but not compelling such study schools, pupils and parents should be in the best possible position to ensure that the needs of each pupil are met appropriately.

20. Please send a copy of this circular to the Headteacher of each school in your area.

MS FRANCESCA OSOWSKA
Qualifications, Assessment and Curriculum Division

Appendix 16 SQA discrete MFL subject enrolment data: SCQF Levels 3 to 7

LEVELS 3-5: Candidate Entries

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Subject																										
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French				17231	17549	19209	19763	20724	21481	21914	23959	25701	26687	27351	27290	26477	26886	26948	27615	27912	27438	26464	25387	24574	24206	23778
Gaelic (Learners)				59	61	65	78	69	75	108	148	155	186	166	174	252	258	314	261	287	292	357	351	414	300	328
German				3541	3692	3891	4215	4377	4427	4639	5311	5698	6279	6518	6236	6377	6356	6630	6671	6954	7110	6776	6591	6300	6135	6209
Italian				167	215	336	362	373	425	498	591	578	545	613	662	563	506	642	659	602	667	795	602	514	574	673
Norwegian							12	20	16	11	24	27	16	29	32	21	28	34	30	38	34	18	24	31	30	41
Portuguese				7	4	11	8	2	7	9	6	6	11	10	4	7	2	8	8	3	9	4	4	4	4	2
Russian				271	272	348	348	382	384	353	371	301	263	224	234	227	195	200	176	213	216	153	168	193	166	164
Spanish				699	782	921	1147	1173	1259	1246	1278	1340	1335	1130	1169	1118	1133	1195	1327	1413	1431	1388	1382	1340	1266	1222
Swedish							15	8	8	11	12	9	19	11	2	10	9	7	9	2	3	0	5	4	4	5
Urdu																										

LEVEL 6: Candidate Entries

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Subject																										
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French				9267	9722	10800	11716	11952	12186	12741	12825	12716	12761	12042	11610	10845	9855	9701	10097	9997	10097	9775	9225	8351	7884	7067
Gaelic (Learners)							41	31	29	34	47	82	79	84	72	89	77	90	92	109	96	96	120	131	131	114
German				2199	2431	2669	2776	2876	2930	3057	3119	3213	3327	3275	3130	2843	2721	2591	2714	2537	2662	2628	2509	2355	2137	2044
Italian				106	160	198	284	288	316	357	393	397	388	340	364	332	300	273	318	366	340	366	376	317	289	314
Norwegian							0	4	13	7	14	9	12	9	8	14	6	7	25	13	21	11	15	14	6	17
Portuguese				0	2	5	5	6	10	15	2	1	4	4	5	4	5	6	7	6	7	8	7	5	6	9
Russian				131	163	160	229	202	230	230	210	184	204	136	114	105	87	77	97	76	75	92	54	64	62	58
Spanish				379	496	560	626	678	774	822	800	822	830	705	659	613	633	588	623	651	676	617	622	589	563	531
Swedish																	8	5	5	6	3	5	4	3	6	7
Urdu																										

LEVEL 7: Candidate Entries

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Subject							↓ first CSYS presentation																			
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French							544	745	791	891	1013	946	1039	827	795	737	702	754	781	824	781	775	733	644	588	566
Gaelic (Learners)																										
German								244	284	366	390	383	417	327	338	286	285	290	288	315	263	270	269	208	190	163
Italian														17	14	7	16	14	5	16	11	10	17	15	5	8
Norwegian																										
Portuguese																										
Russian														17	10	18	14	11	6	6	6	6	13	6	8	6
Spanish														24	36	35	22	40	33	50	42	56	39	28	26	27
Swedish																										
Urdu																										

LEVELS 3-5: Candidate Entries

		↓ first S Gr langs (F in 88)					↓ last O Gr						↓ first Int 1s, 2s; Acc 3s											
Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																					21	82	212	237	228	245
ESOL																				394	625	651	947	888	266	299
French	21647	21925	23893	25660	31952	35903	39622	41672	42626	40489	38356	37721	38983	40080	41217	41380	40713	39099	39978	38834	38373	35651	34221	31742	30184	28530
Gaelic (Learners)	340	315	339	389	423	368	425	440	540	522	423	329	386	413	384	397	375	399	429	440	482	437	431	414	369	370
German	5806	5637	6273	7199	8953	10319	14057	15849	16254	17157	16019	16424	16068	16274	14528	14625	13232	12500	12404	11574	10120	8704	7897	7592	6706	5921
Italian	553	569	627	724	580	396	356	554	640	691	627	789	946	1108	1001	1016	929	826	875	741	814	640	748	369	660	660
Norwegian	25	19	21	17	21																					
Portuguese	5	8	3	1	1																					
Russian	139	127	145	160	135	64	61	47	31	14	9	14	7	11	20	17	13	24	25	6	4	9	22	21	28	28
Spanish	1328	1266	1475	1493	1515	1407	1799	2210	2379	2575	2587	2675	3312	3638	4051	4054	4567	4470	5043	5149	5555	5816	6065	6503	6463	6463
Swedish	5	3	7	1	2																					
Urdu											49	44	153	174	171	181	164	153	130	149	135	103	118	112	92	92

LEVEL 6: Candidate Entries

			↓ first S Gr reach Higher					↓ last O Gr reach Higher						↓ first Int2s reach H											
Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																							36	38	74	51
ESOL																					287	436	591	684	335	342
French	6883	6710	6900	6853	6249	6310	5852	5111	5098	4840	4619	4244	4194	4300	4771	4886	4614	4515	4292	4573	4602	4577	4595	4354	4691	4203
Gaelic (Learners)	122	118	117	110	127	135	120	140	144	168	148	138	102	130	147	147	139	130	154	119	120	118	131	127	110	105
German	1950	1927	1973	2171	2118	2202	2228	2170	2240	2078	1962	1891	2021	2036	2206	1908	1794	1703	1399	1621	1459	1261	1178	1055	1122	1042
Italian	289	303	270	281	280	286	206	214	218	188	201	200	206	189	284	283	245	292	236	225	194	212	241	227	177	231
Norwegian	18	13	7	12	5	7	27	5																		
Portuguese	8	3	16	6	8	16	9	0																		
Russian	61	43	34	56	74	47	27	14	17	22	19	16	17	13	14	23	17	19	9	16	15	13	25	25	32	29
Spanish	501	533	585	591	582	646	616	653	723	788	874	804	764	834	916	1045	1081	1162	1058	1220	1327	1364	1361	1498	1497	1563
Swedish	4	6	11	13	8	4	20	1																		
Urdu																					58	58	89	92	66	109

LEVEL 7: Candidate Entries

				↓ first S Gr reach CSYS					↓ last O Gr reach CSYS						↓ AH begins											
Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																							3	15	7	19
ESOL																										
French	513	589	645	552	531	485	472	454	506	407	328	452	410	490	574	636	712	599	642	624	719	710	702	691	630	655
Gaelic (Learners)														10	11	23	28	7	17	23	17	15	15	18	22	21
German	147	172	189	210	201	195	188	199	200	198	177	184	148	248	252	296	249	223	217	164	214	151	161	160	126	134
Italian	12	5	4	4	5	2	4	9	4	10	8	8	10	12	23	26	14	14	43	32	21	19	34	34	29	22
Norwegian																										
Portuguese																										
Russian	7	11	5	4	7	4	8	3	3	3	2	2	0	6	3	4	6	9	3	4	6					
Spanish	23	28	45	52	40	35	44	37	57	52	49	78	78	99	143	132	148	158	154	127	193	196	247	232	224	231
Swedish																										
Urdu																										

APPENDIX 17 SQA Total MFL subject enrolment data: SCQF Levels 3 to 7

The numbers of candidates for all MFL subjects and for the complete set of subjects available at the levels concerned are shown. The MFL total is calculated as a percentage of the overall total number of candidates. [: growing; : same; : declining

Decade 1: 1962 - 1971										
Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5				21975	22575	24781	25948	27128	28082	28789
All Presentations Levels 3-5				199167	210255	225089	246399	264786	276457	291373
MFL as % of Total				11.0	10.7	11.0	10.5	10.2	10.2	9.9
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)				12082	12974	14392	15677	16037	16488	17263
All Presentations Level 6 (H)				74969	79471	87496	99192	111129	124039	134928
MFL as % of Total				16.1	16.3	16.4	15.8	14.4	13.3	12.8
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)							544	989	1075	1257
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)							1993	3835	6357	9923
MFL as % of Total							27.3	25.8	16.9	12.7
Decade 2: 1972 – 1981										
Year	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5	31700	33815	35341	36052	35803	35052	35373	35978	36756	37424 (peak)
All Presentations Levels 3-5	314971	335617	392921	406936	422396	426028	431194	442316	456790	472376
MFL as % of Total	10.1	10.1	9.0	8.9	8.5	8.2	8.2	8.1	8.0	7.9
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)	17410	17424	17605	16595	15962	14845	13962	13338	13978	13761
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	144702	149137	151485	149170	154049	153254	146900	149453	157032	165117
MFL as % of Total	12.0	11.7	11.6	11.1	10.4	9.7	9.3	8.9	8.9	8.3
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	1403	1329	1456	1212	1193	1083	1039	1109	1113	1211
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	11043	11753	11433	9666	9571	9671	9582	9148	10107	11305
MFL as % of Total	12.7	11.3	12.7	12.5	12.5	11.2	10.8	12.1	11.0	10.7

Decade 3: 1982 - 1991										
Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5	37200	35955	34514	33374	32685	32422	29848	29869	32783	35644
All Presentations Levels 3-5	483903	475084	459564	446008	476983	490942 (peak)	484334	457713	446013	435659
MFL as % of Total	7.7	7.6	7.5	7.5	6.9	6.6	6.2	6.5	7.4	8.2
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)	13977	13598	12932	11829	11094	10161	9836	9656	9913	10093
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	173509	177711	172220	168309	166403	165936	169818	166845	158191	155794
MFL as % of Total	8.1	7.7	7.5	7.0	6.7	6.1	5.8	5.8	6.3	6.5
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	1103	1117	1071	901	817	770	702	805	888	822
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	12148	12675	12637	11200	10393	10918	11073	11619	11240	10638
MFL as % of Total	9.1	8.8	8.5	8.0	7.9	7.1	6.3	6.9	7.9	7.7
Decade 4: 1992 – 2001										
Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5	43582	48457	56320	60772	62470	61448	58070	57996	59855	61698
All Presentations Levels 3-5	429345	414344	433563	458694	473060	466057	447184	448152	495362	536403
MFL as % of Total	10.2	11.7	13.0	13.2	13.2	13.2	13.0	12.9	12.1	11.5
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)	9451	9653	9105	8308	8440	8084	7823	7293	7304	7502
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	157995	159548	160646	160928	164701	167233	163807	160908	163157	147796
MFL as % of Total	6.0	6.1	5.7	5.2	5.1	4.8	4.8	4.5	4.5	5.1
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	784	721	716	702	770	670	564	724	646	865
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	11586	11482	11942	12092	12273	13044	12292	13107	13005	14444
MFL as % of Total	6.8	6.3	6.0	5.8	6.3	5.1	4.6	5.5	5.0	6.0

Decade 5: 2002 - 2011										
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5	61372	61670	59993	57471	58884	57287	56129	52093	50661	47878
All Presentations Levels 3-5	547716	549544	558098	550754	575178	596069	591316	578553	563021	570600
MFL as % of Total	11.2	11.2	10.7	10.4	10.2	9.6	9.5	9.0	9.0	8.4
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)	8338	8292	7890	7821	7148	7774	8062	8039	8247	8100
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	164004	166885	165575	164142	159140	161081	162576	167792	175614	178925
MFL as % of Total	5.1	5.0	4.8	4.8	4.5	4.8	5.0	4.8	4.7	4.5
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	1006	1117	1157	1010	1076	974	1170	1091	1162	1150
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	16172	16986	17185	17140	18264	17831	18854	19648	20585	21431
MFL as % of Total	6.2	6.6	6.7	5.9	5.9	5.5	6.2	5.6	5.6	5.4

Decade 6: 2012 – 2021										
Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total MFL Presentations Levels 3-5	44996	43506								
All Presentations Levels 3-5	557678	542142								
MFL as % of Total	8.1	8.0								
Total MFL Presentations Level 6 (H)	8104	7675								
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	170146	172234								
MFL as % of Total	4.8	4.5								
Total MFL Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	1038	1082								
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	21340	21916								
MFL as % of Total	4.9	4.9								

Appendix 18 SQA discrete MFL subject attainment data: SCQF Levels 3 to 7

Level 3-5: O Grade then Level 5 passes

Subject	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French				12772	12986	14473	14592	15577	16140	15830	16058	17153	17547	16612	17178	15979	17256	17865	18414	19090	18592	18440	17549	17147	16275	16367
Gaelic (Learners)				36	47	36	50	49	51	82	113	116	Raw Dat	118	137	178	176	217	180	197	192	252	247	292	247	230
German				2939	3034	2970	3361	3435	2447	3573	3966	4118	4242	4293	4023	4288	4332	4641	4782	5035	5229	4827	4712	4456	4363	4427
Italian				130	184	268	267	271	294	369	426	397	381	431	479	403	388	493	510	465	510	604	467	394	449	498
Norwegian							10	17	7	11	14	18	12	14	24	13	20	29	17	32	22	12	14	21	26	31
Portuguese				6	4	10	3	1	5	7	4	6	8	9	4	7	2	8	4	3	9	4	3	4	7	2
Russian				211	197	266	280	300	258	271	253	230	190	158	158	153	141	149	133	182	148	127	122	151	125	129
Spanish				579	612	735	838	857	878	884	862	816	804	715	732	714	732	896	869	945	980	947	954	916	859	851
Swedish							13	8	7	10	12	9	12	8	2	10	9	6	9	2	3	0	5	4	4	5
Urdu																										

Level 6: A-C passes

Subject	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French				7078	7647	8367	8580	8822	8844	9248	8816	8673	8074	7787	7667	7414	6846	6847	7158	7165	7195	6882	6510	5940	5526	4980
Gaelic (Learners)							32	24	20	29	36	66	55	60	60	66	61	75	72	87	76	74	96	101	101	93
German				1804	2046	2150	2247	2333	2374	2390	2300	2228	2053	2031	1963	1825	1777	1734	1815	1652	1733	1710	1620	1474	1355	1317
Italian				88	131	157	226	229	245	269	300	299	291	242	245	251	231	212	247	285	260	278	291	248	232	238
Norwegian							0	4	13	6	13	8	10	9	7	13	6	7	25	11	18	10	15	14	6	14
Portuguese				0	2	4	4	5	7	12	2	1	4	3	4	3	5	6	6	6	7	8	6	5	6	9
Russian				1114	141	129	182	163	174	182	68	130	148	100	79	77	66	55	79	61	62	74	44	54	51	51
Spanish				295	401	431	495	522	577	600	557	562	555	499	474	434	464	456	466	463	484	445	444	423	404	380
Swedish														0	0	0	8	5	4	6	3	5	4	3	6	7
Urdu																										

LEVEL 7: A-C Passes

→ first CSYS presentation

Subject	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Chinese																										
ESOL																										
French							423	549	570	673	683	624	765	596	587	552	576	591	595	627	612	606	608	525	498	481
Gaelic (Learners)																										
German								184	199	263	347	253	291	247	252	218	222	224	246	249	225	242	218	169	179	146
Italian														17	14	7	16	14	5	13	11	7	15	15	4	8
Norwegian																										
Portuguese																										
Russian														14	8	15	10	10	4	6	5	4	10	4	6	5
Spanish														21	26	24	13	27	23	45	37	46	28	26	18	22
Swedish																										
Urdu																										

Level 3-5: O Grade then Level 5 passes

↓ first S Gr langs (F in 88) ↓ last O Gr ↓ first Int 1s, 2s; Acc 3s

Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																						27	19	36	30	78
ESOL																				186	311	365	583	610	154	177
French	15357	13349	9264	9065	10126	10776	11085	12202	12893	12867	13128	13128	14685	15900	16354	18513	16306	15122	15978	15545	15344	14739	14841	14497	13165	13321
Gaelic (Learners)	247	232	193	206	223	147	161	171	200	211	159	159	219	253	262	265	232	279	271	247	243	264	287	254	215	176
German	4198	4668	3781	3476	3974	4370	4812	5657	5739	6238	6714	6714	6625	7437	6643	6524	5642	5330	5418	4790	4199	4107	3393	3360	2896	2888
Italian	428	439	460	543	293	187	179	241	306	298	345	345	469	541	381	425	455	358	348	296	343	343	385	209	343	287
Norwegian	20	19	16	13	18																					
Portuguese	5	8	3	1	1																					
Russian	120	113	103	116	108	35	26	21	13	10	12	12	7	11	16	8	4	12	7	3	3	9	1	14	10	12
Spanish	959	890	967	832	721	623	733	906	1014	1202	1221	1221	1618	1702	1972	2651	2043	1984	2189	2229	2507	2571	2704	2829	2907	3565
Swedish	5	3	7	1	2																					
Urdu											19	24	104	122	119	116	112	108	87	98	93	70	72	69	59	70

Level 6: A-C passes

↓ first S Gr reach Higher ↓ last O Gr reach Higher ↓ first Int2s reach H

Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																							36	38	71	51
ESOL																				82	239	353	469	553	270	297
French	4879	4783	4729	4741	4430	4380	4227	4057	3751	3812	3826	3445	3550	3700	4020	4114	3805	3718	3556	3888	3961	3806	4011	3703	3919	3406
Gaelic (Learners)	105	106	100	93	111	116	106	129	130	150	136	124	93	117	139	132	119	119	141	108	101	88	81	118	102	95
German	1293	1321	1383	1509	1460	1552	1538	1643	1737	1639	1594	1526	1766	1685	1778	1521	1422	1396	1080	1296	1113	1112	984	905	889	839
Italian	211	239	212	222	220	226	163	162	160	150	160	165	186	166	236	201	231	257	193	190	156	189	193	209	165	213
Norwegian	18	13	7	12	5	4	19	2																		
Portuguese	8	3	15	6	8	15	9	0																		
Russian	59	42	30	49	66	39	25	13	17	21	19	13	17	12	13	21	16	17	9	16	156	13	23	24	32	26
Spanish	407	413	458	460	440	501	463	546	550	597	662	636	677	744	815	900	929	979	907	1072	1154	1218	1174	1289	1275	
Swedish	4	6	11	13	6	3	18	1																		
Urdu																					56	57	87	86	64	99

LEVEL 7: A-C Passes

↓ first S Gr reach CSYS ↓ last O Gr reach CSYS ↓ AH begins

Subject	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chinese																							3	14	7	19
ESOL																										
French	429	496	529	445	451	406	391	389	430	353	285	363	339	405	453	480	568	453	489	464	553	576	536	564	558	559
Gaelic (Learners)														10	11	23	27	7	17	21	16	13	14	8	21	20
German	135	157	166	202	190	185	181	193	191	196	170	179	143	210	210	212	207	184	176	126	155	128	134	134	96	115
Italian	11	5	4	4	5	2	4	9	3	10	7	8	10	12	20	25	13	11	43	30	21	19	31	29	27	20
Norwegian																										
Portuguese																										
Russian	7	9	5	4	7	4	8	3	3	3	2	2	0	6	3	4	6	9	3	4	6	0	0	0		
Spanish	22	24	41	48	38	33	39	33	52	45	47	76	74	89	118	100	126	133	119	109	154	162	205	194	179	199
Swedish																										
Urdu																										

Appendix 19 SQA Total MFL subject attainment data: SCQF Levels 3 to 7

The numbers of awards for all MFL subjects and for the complete set of subjects available at the levels concerned are shown. The MFL total is calculated as a percentage of the overall total number of awards.

Decade 1: 1962 - 1971										
Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5				16673	17064	18758	19414	20515	20087	21037
All Presentations Levels 3-5				199167	210255	225089	246399	264786	276457	291373
MFL as % of Total				8.4	8.1	8.3	7.9	7.7	7.3	7.2
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)				10379	10368	11238	11766	12102	12254	12736
All Presentations Level 6 (H)				74969	79471	87496	99192	111129	124039	134928
MFL as % of Total				13.8	13.0	12.8	11.9	10.9	9.9	9.4
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)							423	733	769	936
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)							1993	3835	6357	9923
MFL as % of Total							21.2	19.1	12.1	9.4
Decade 2: 1972 – 1981										
Year	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5	21708	22863	23196	22358	22737	21745	23056	24304	24918	25951
All Presentations Levels 3-5	314971	335617	392921	406936	422396	426028	431194	442316	456790	472376
MFL as % of Total	6.9	6.8	5.9	5.5	5.4	5.1	5.3	5.5	5.5	5.5
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)	12092	11967	11190	10731	10499	10083	9464	9397	9872	9736
All Presentations Level 6 (H)	144702	149137	151485	149170	154049	153254	146900	149453	157032	165117
MFL as % of Total	8.4	8.0	7.4	7.2	6.8	6.6	6.4	6.3	6.3	5.9
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	1030	877	1056	895	887	816	837	866	873	940
All Presentations Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	11043	11753	11433	9666	9571	9671	9582	9148	10107	11305
MFL as % of Total	9.3	7.5	9.2	9.3	9.3	8.4	8.7	9.5	8.6	8.3

Decade 3: 1982 - 1991										
Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5	25685	25213	24073	23385	22355	22540	21339	19721	14794	14253
All Attainment Levels 3-5	483903	475084	459564	446008	476983	490942 (peak)	484334	457713	446013	435659
MFL as % of Total	5.3	5.3	5.2	5.2	4.7	4.6	4.4	4.3	3.3	3.3
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)	9838	9486	9030	8262	7687	7089	6984	6926	6945	7105
All Attainment Level 6 (H)	173509	177711	172220	168309	166403	165936	169818	166845	158191	155794
MFL as % of Total	5.7	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.6	4.3	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	890	905	879	739	705	662	604	691	745	703
All Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	12148	12675	12637	11200	10393	10918	11073	11619	11240	10638
MFL as % of Total	7.3	7.1	7.0	6.6	6.8	6.1	5.5	5.9	6.6	6.6
Decade 4: 1992 – 2001										
Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5	15466	16138	16996	19198	20165	20826	21598	21603	23727	25966
All Attainment Levels 3-5	429345	414344	433563	458694	473060	466057	447184	448152	495362	536403
MFL as % of Total	3.6	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.5	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)	6746	6836	6568	6553	6345	6369	6397	5909	6289	6424
All Attainment Level 6 (H)	157995	159548	160646	160928	164701	167233	163807	160908	163157	147796
MFL as % of Total	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.9	4.3
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	691	630	623	627	679	607	511	628	566	732
All Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	11586	11482	11942	12092	12273	13044	12292	13107	13005	14444
MFL as % of Total	6.0	5.5	5.2	5.2	5.5	4.7	4.2	4.8	4.4	5.1

Decade 5: 2002 - 2011										
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5	25747	28502	24794	23193	24298	23394	23043	22495	22285	21878
All Attainment Levels 3-5	547716	549544	558098	550754	575178	596069	591316	578553	563021	570600
MFL as % of Total	4.7	5.2	4.4	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.8
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)	7001	6889	6522	6486	5886	6652	6936	6836	7058	6925
All Attainment Level 6 (H)	164004	166885	165575	164142	159140	161081	162576	167792	175614	178925
MFL as % of Total	4.3	4.1	3.9	4.0	3.7	4.1	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.9
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	815	844	947	797	847	754	905	898	923	943
All Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	16172	16986	17185	17140	18264	17831	18854	19648	20585	21431
MFL as % of Total	5.0	5.0	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.2	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.4
Decade 6: 2012 – 2021										
Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total MFL Attainment Levels 3-5	19779	20574								
All Attainment Levels 3-5	557678	542142								
MFL as % of Total	3.5	3.8								
Total MFL Attainment Level 6 (H)	6787	6341								
All Attainment Level 6 (H)	170146	172234								
MFL as % of Total	4.0	3.7								
Total MFL Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	888	932								
All Attainment Level 7 (CSYS/AH)	21340	21916								
MFL as % of Total	4.2	4.3								